STUDIES

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Health Bill, 1952

by EDWARD J. COYNE, S.J.

IT would be ungenerous, and indeed, possibly unjust, on the part of *Studies*[1] not to offer an expression of welcome, appreciation, congratulation and good wishes to the new Health Bill, 1952[2], of Dr. Ryan. There are many things in the Bill—and some not in the Bill !—which enable us to do this with full sincerity. There are other things, both in the Bill and not in the Bill, which justify us in making some equally sincere, but, we trust, reasonable and conciliatory, constructive criticism. The atmosphere is now more favourable to calm, rational discussion. No side has the whole truth, or pretends to have it, if indeed there is an attainable " whole truth " in practical matters. There is opportunity, wide-open, for give-and-take, for a balancing of interests, an attaining of the golden mean, and a whole-hearted co-operation to make an agreed scheme a success for the good of the country. Everyone has much to gain from finding, not a formula, but substantial unity, with accidental diversity, of mind, of policy and of programme : the State, the individual citizens and the medical profession.

The tumult and the shouting have died away, and the captains and the kings have silently or not so silently departed and we are left with a Bill modestly entitled " An Act to amend and extend the Health Act, 1947, and certain other enactments." Gone is the first White Paper and its gorgeous retinue of illustrated pamphlets and half-page advertisements ; gone are the hopes or fears of " free-for-all " " paid-for-by-nobody " health services ; gone even is a certain amount of the second White Paper. We are left with a perfect Health Scheme ? Far from it ; but something at least which does form a sound and reasonable basis for discussion and does give hope of the establishment " of a sane and legitimate Health Service."

Right in the forefront of the Bill is an ample disclaimer in clear language touching the very first *caveat* of the Bishops in their letter of 10th October, 1950. " In their opinion," said the letter, " the powers taken by the State in the proposed mother-and-child health service are in direct opposition to the rights of the family and of the individual and are liable to very great abuse. Their character is such that no assurance that they would be used in moderation could justify their enactment." The new Bill meets this *caveat* in two ways : (i) it repeals every single section (21 to

[1] See *Studies*, June, 1951, for comments on Dr. Noel Browne's White Paper and the 1947 Health Act.

[2] For record purposes, it may be noted that this Bill is classified as No. 44 of 1952, although it did not appear until 7th February 1953. It was " read " a first time in December, 1952.

28) lock, stock and barrel, of Part III of the Health Act, 1947[1], on which Part the whole of the first White Paper's Mother and Child Scheme was based, and from which it was to draw its legal force : and (ii) it declares, in Section 4 : " Nothing in this Act or any instrument thereunder shall be construed as imposing an obligation on any person to avail himself of any service provided under this Act or *to submit himself or any person for whom he is responsible to health examination or treatment.*"[2] The only addition one would like would be " in this or any other Act." There still remains, of course, the danger that " by taxation direct or indirect, the State will in practice, morally compel the citizens to avail themselves of the service provided."[3] But the whole tenor of the Bill makes this danger much more remote.

I

LOWER INCOME GROUP : FREE SERVICES

The Bill lays down that two distinct sets of health services shall be " made available without charge " for persons " who are unable to provide by their own industry or other lawful means " the services necessary for themselves or their dependants. The Archbishop of Dublin in his letter (published later by Dr. Browne) of 8th March 1951, had stated : " I welcome any legitimate improvement of medical services for those whose basic family wage or income does not readily assure the necessary facilities."[4] The two sets of services now to be available free of charge to these persons " of the lower income group " (as the Bill calls them) are : (i) " a general practitioner medical and surgical service, medicines, ophthalmic and dental treatment, and medical, surgical and dental appliances " ; (ii) " institutional and specialist services," which are already partly defined in the 1947 Act, Section 2. It would seem that our Bill is here following closely the British National Health Service, which provides precisely these two sets of health services (with the addition of " consultants' services ") free for all registered under the scheme. It is not clear whether the specialists' service will be available to those eligible only if they are in an institution (hospital, sanatorium, etc.), or whether, as in Great Britain, the general practitioner can call in the specialists (or consultants, if it is decided to have them) to the home of his lower income group patients. We assume that, as in Great Britain, the general practitioner service is available for patients, not at dispensaries, but in their own homes. While this adds considerably to the cost (met by " mileage grants " in England) of the service, it would

[1] See *Studies*, June, 1951, for some of the chief social and moral objections to this Part III.
[2] Italics ours.
[3] Archbishop's letter : Fifth point : April, 1951.
[4] Archbishop's letter of March, 1951.

be a very poor and limping service if patients had to go, as at present, long distances to a dispensary and wait long hours there. Presumably too, patients will be free to choose their own doctor out of a reasonable number and to visit him, by appointment, in his own house. The Bill does not mention these points : but it can hardly be merely a re-enactment of the old dispensary system with all its social and professional defects, which are many and grave, despite the good work done by dispensary doctors.

Have we any estimate of the number of persons who are in " the lower income group " and who, consequently, will be able to avail themselves of these two sets of services free of charge ? Such an estimate would be useful in trying to make a reasoned guess at the total cost of these services to the community. In the recent White Paper (Pr. 1333) it was stated in the second paragraph that the general medical services of the Public Assistance Act, 1939, which applied only to a person " unable to provide necessary medical services by his own industry or other lawful means " was " availed of by about one-third of the population." It was a shock to the sociologist and, indeed, to the ordinary citizen to be told officially that there were one million Irish citizens who could not provide (or have provided for them) " by their own industry or other lawful means " necessary medical services.

The Bishops, in their letter of 10th October, 1950, mentioned " the necessitous 10 per cent." This was, obviously a round figure not meant to be taken as a scientific estimate. But to one who has handled statistics, even in the most amateurish way, for a number of years and who has a fair knowledge of the conditions in the country, it is almost incredible that 33 per cent. of the population come under the description of " lower income group " as understood in the White Paper and in the 1939 Public Assistance Act. A figure of 15 per cent. (450,000 persons) would have seemed to me, had I been asked, possibly a little too low ; but 20 per cent. (600,000) would have seemed too high. Actually, when the magnitude of this estimate was pointed out and queried, the answer was given that the White Paper said nothing of the kind : it merely said that " It is estimated that this service [*i.e.*, the free service] is *availed of* by about one-third of the population." The " catch " was the word " availed of " : it did not say were " eligible for " or that one million people were in the lower income group, but only that one million people used the service, whether strictly eligible or not.[1]

Taking this figure, however, as a basis, what will be the approximate cost ? The only yard-stick of comparison which we have is the British cost. There it costs about £2 5s. per head to give everyone much the same

[1] If 1,000,000 persons availed themselves of the "free services," there must be many more than 1,000,000 in " the lower income group." There surely is not 100% incidence of sickness in this group : there must have been *some* who did not avail themselves of the free services?

" general practitioner services " (including pharmaceutical, dental and ophthalmic) as are outlined in the new Bill. Hence the free services of this nature for 1,000,000 persons (" one-third of the population ") would cost about £2,250,000. The British cost per head of free institutional and specialist services is over £6. Hence our cost would be about £6,000,000 : a total for the two sets of free services of £8,250,000 per annum. Unfortunately, neither need for medical attention nor the cost of such attention is affected in the slightest by the difference in the national income of the two countries, which is enormous. Great Britain may be able to afford £8 10s. 0d. per head on health, if it costs that. We can hardly afford that amount per head of even one-third of our population, much less, of course, for all our population. But the fact that we cannot afford it does not mean either that this million of lower income persons do not need that amount of medical attention or that it does not cost that sum to provide it. Some effort will obviously have to be made to pull down the cost of these services : the need can hardly be lessened appreciably and cannot any longer be ignored or neglected. Assuming that we could halve the cost per head here as compared with Great Britain, the amount is still formidable for these free general services alone, say, £4,000,000. The danger is very real that, in the search for economies, a harassed Finance Minister may insist on so reducing in various ways the level of services provided that we may face a colossal waste of money in inadequate and unsatisfactory services. All such services have to reach a certain minimum level of efficiency, promptness, availability or else they are only a patch-work and wasteful façade.

In Great Britain, the number of medical doctors alone (leaving out dentists, etc.), required to operate the general practitioner services is laid down as 1 for every 3,500 persons as a minimum : it is, in practice, probably 1 for every 3,000, or even 2,500 persons. In a thinly-populated country like Ireland, 1 for every 3,000 or 2,500 would be the most likely figure. This would mean about 350 to 400 general practitioners for the free services alone. It costs approximately 20s. per person capitation grant to remunerate the general practitioners : hence, the doctors remuneration alone, for the free services, would be about £1,000,000. The pharmaceutical cost, on the English experience, is about 16s. per person : for us, £800,000. Naturally, the service of free patients should not be concentrated in the hands of a relatively small number of doctors, State-employed (such as dispensary doctors). Every doctor should be allowed to have, at the choice of the patient, a certain number of free patients on his list at a fixed capitation grant : otherwise it will be hard to arrange for an adequate choice of doctor. The new Bill is unsatisfactory in this respect : it seems to visualize doctors as salaried-employees of Co. Councils and Corporations as in the old dispensary system. This would be most unacceptable both to doctors and patients, and is hardly

likely to be agreed to by the medical profession. However, we discuss this point, as one of the major changes required, lower down.

This portion of the Bill, as is clear from the above brief summary makes very full, varied and even comprehensive provision for the poor, and for persons in the lower income group. This is altogether fitting and right. It is true that our community cannot give " the best medical and surgical services to all irrespective of ability to pay." Such exaggerated demands or promises are silly, where they are not downright dishonest demagoguery. The number of " best " doctors and surgeons are limited : even in Ireland not every doctor is the " best " doctor : the same applies to hospitals and nurses, and even geographical sites. The supply of the " best " drugs is both limited and costly : there is probably no " best " treatment or method. What we can give is sound, efficient, kindly medical and nursing service in reasonably comfortable conditions, with reasonable food, drink and general amenities. Unless there is a parsimonious spirit in supplying funds for this modest target, the community may feel satisfied that it has discharged its obligations of Christian charity and social justice towards its sick and disabled poor, men, women and children. If the official estimate of one million lower income group persons who will actually avail themselves of the free services is even approximately accurate, the discharge of these obligations will, as we have seen, impose a very heavy burden on the other two-thirds, only 2,000,000 persons, of the community, who will have in addition their own sick to look after. There is not very much new in the services for the poor provided in this Bill ; most of them are already in existence and being paid for.[1] But whatever extensions and improvements are necessary will cost money. The total expenditure on all health services in 1948–49, was £6,635,000 : £4,760,000 from local rates, and £1,875,000 from the State. Public Assistance alone, in that year, cost £2,700,000. We are probably being conservative if we add on another £1,000,000 for the extensions in this new Bill. Even at this we are well under the per capita cost of very similar services in Great Britain, which is almost £8 10s. per head.

II

Mother and Child Services

(*a*)

Motherhood

The care of the mothers and infants and other children of the one million persons in the lower income group is provided for under sections 13 and 14 of the Bill. In section 15 we come to the care of mothers

[1] Cf. Report of Department of Health, 1945–49 Pr. 42. I cannot omit sincere congratulations to those responsible for this First Report of the Department of Health. It is a document of the highest value, beautifully produced.

in the middle income group : and in sections 16 to 19 to the care of infants and children in this group.

All women in the middle income group will have available, without charge, " medical, surgical, midwifery, hospital and specialist services " in respect of motherhood. All other married women, in an income group above the £600 a year level, will be able by a kind of insurance scheme, at £1 a year, to share the same benefits. The insertion, even in this hesitant and inchoate way, of a sort of insurance principle is a most welcome and hopeful sign.

The magnitude of the burdens, professional (staff), institutional, and financial, undertaken by the community in this section 15, gives one pause. But before coming to them, I should like to make a profession of faith. On social and moral principles, it is, in my opinion, most undesirable that motherhood and infancy should not be direct charges, and first charges, on the income of the head of the family, where he is at all able to bear them. The whole purpose and meaning of married life is fatherhood, motherhood and birth of children : for what other or prior reason does a married man earn his living ? What other charges should come before this ? There is something sacred and primary and personally intimate and holy and inviolate in the privileges and duties of paternity : a married man is more a man, when he shoulders, alone, the proud burden of responsibility for wife, mother and child. He should be, and most men are, jealous of allowing this cost, above and beyond all others, to be borne by anyone (even his own parents) but himself. By all means, let the State give generous, lavish indirect help and refrain from burdening : but let it keep its necessarily clumsy, almost sacrilegious methods out of this sphere of life at least. Citizens should be " under no obligation " to the State in this matter. They should encircle their parenthood and its obligations and shut them off from any direct outside, and especially from any State, intervention. The birth of a man's and a woman's child, the greatest joy and pride in life, should not be " on the rates," " on the parish." For let us not fool ourselves in this : that *is* what the section means. The county will find the money by the rates : future babies will be Oliver Twists, born " on the county."

It would be far better to " level us all up " instead of " levelling us all down," as this and most of these " welfare " schemes do. It would, in a certain true sense, be cheaper, in the real values that count in a nation's life and even in its exchequer, for the State to send every mother, on the occasion of a birth, a cheque for £50 as a token of the community's gratitude and appreciation. There are 60,000 births each year ; it would cost £3,000,000. The " levelling down " scheme will cost some thing near £2,000,000 before it is finished, plus the incalculable values lost in the " levelling down " process. It is true that we have become somewhat insensitive to, and possibly cynical of, certain imponderables of

self-respect in modern " welfare " times and States, but I do not believe that the manhood or womanhood of Ireland has ever made a public " demand," or any other kind of " demand," for this particular method of showing State appreciation of motherhood. This section, in its present form, I fear (and indeed, I hope) is in the Bill much more as a sop to a certain wounded *amour propre* and much more as a political " pawn's-move " than on account of any deeply held social principle. The social principles held by the majority of our people are such as are deserving of far more respect and support than the ones (if any) from which this section, in its present form, emerged.

However, there it is, old-fashioned lost causes and prejudices and impossible hopes and out-moded standards of personal and family pride and independence notwithstanding. But the financial burden on the community remains to be reckoned and borne. For this " free-for-all " is merely a " paid-for-by-all " gift of the Greeks. There are, as has been said, 60,000 births each year in Ireland. Past experience has shown that an average cost of £15 per birth, including capitation fee (in England £7 7s or £5 5s.), is on the low side. Hospital costs would probably make it impossible to hold to this figure. It is, in truth, a guess—but the tendency has always been that final costs outran the most careful estimates. " Levelling up " at £50 a birth might even prove to be as economic as " levelling down."

The White Paper promised (in paragraph 27) that a mother would be free to choose any doctor of " those participating in the scheme," who is willing to accept her as a patient. The doctor " will be remunerated by a capitation fee. The fee will cover care of the mother before, at (if necessary) and after the confinement and the care of the child up to the age of six weeks." It is certainly an encouraging sign to note the acceptance of these vital principles of (i) patient-doctor relationship ; (ii) doctor-State relationship ; and (iii) payment, not by salary, but by capitation grant. One of the great defects in the Bill, as we shall see, is the absence of a clear acceptance of these principles right through all the health services.

There is an important point which will arise later, but may be mentioned here in connection with maternity hospital services for the middle income group and those paying the annual £1 contribution. Will the type of hospital or nursing-home service for mothers be uniform all through where the service is free ? There is a type of service that women of this middle income group and still more those in higher income groups desire and have been accustomed to. Is a woman to pay a £1 contribution per year to enjoy the same services as she has already paid for in taxes for less well-off women to enjoy free ? Private rooms, a special nurse, a different type of cooking, general amenities—presumably these will not be supplied free to mothers in the middle income group and to

those paying the £1. When our legislators discuss this Bill, will they know in their hearts that they are merely putting up a pretence and a façade of giving all mothers free maternity service? In order to avoid a means' test and in order to be able to boast of at least a juridical and formal equality of service, are we going to provide a service of a type which we know many women will be deterred from using for various good reasons? And do we know, therefore, that we are compelling these people—and they will be many—to pay twice or possibly three times: once for a service for their poorer fellow-citizens; once for the availability of the same service for themselves, which in practice they cannot use; and once for the service they will use. On such doubtful paths of conduct must honourable men walk when they seek the Welfare State.

(*b*)

CHILDREN

There are five sections of the Bill which deal explicitly with the health of children, though, presumably section 13 and section 14 (3) implicitly include infants and children of the lower income group under the term "dependants."

Section 16 lays down that medical, surgical, hospital, specialist and nursing services for children up to the age of six weeks shall be made available, without charge, for the middle income group. This will be a boon to many families in this group, provided that these services are of a type suitable to this group. Especially, the nursing services of a trained maternity nurse for the first six weeks (available evidently in the mother's own home) will be welcomed by a large number of mothers. The provision of many more beds in children's hospitals, if not an increase in the number of hospitals, will be needed: and certainly in the number of maternity nurses. Indeed, this section, if put into force in any worth while way, is going to be costly, slow and difficult. But there can be no doubt of its utility and the welcome it will receive.

Section 17 provides for the extension of child welfare clinics (some few are already in existence) where medical, surgical and nursing services for children under six years of the lower and middle income groups will be available without charge. The White Paper envisaged hospital and specialist services for such children of the middle income group as well as for those of the lower income group. Middle income children seem to be omitted from the Bill in this matter. But the Bill does provide hospital and institutional services without charge for all children at national schools "in respect of defects discovered at school health examinations."

Section 18 continues the existing system of school medical service, but extends it to the "day pupils of schools providing elementary, secondary

or vocational education." This is to be a " free " service. Despite section 30 which directs school managers to afford facilities for such school medical examination, it is clear from section 4 that neither the parents nor those responsible for the children (*i.e.*, the head teachers or managers ?) are under any obligation to submit the children to either health examination or treatment. This is an improvement on the terms of Part III of the 1947 Act. However, the well-known tact and courtesy of school medical officers will, normally, make a refusal on the part of parents a rare occurrence. A certain special privilege is given to pupils of national schools as distinct from those of other elementary schools, in that they will get free hospital and specialist services.

Section 19 deals with dental and ophthalmic treatment, and dental, optical and aural appliances for two classes of children. These are (i) all pupils at national schools, and (ii) children under six attending the child welfare clinics. The Minister may, but need not, make a charge for these services under this section. Finally, the free milk scheme is continued for children of the lower income group under five years. By this portion of the Bill the community certainly meets its obligations in charity and social justice towards its children.

It will be noted, as in so many other parts of the Bill, that many of these services are already in existence and need only extension. The Bill should be studied in close relation with Part VI of the already mentioned magnificent First Report of the Department of Health, which gives details of the services at present operating. The cost of the existing Mother and Child Services in the " Standard Year " (1947–48) was £273,000, of which £76,000 was found by local authorities, and £197,000 by the State. The total cost of the suggested new extensions both in the services and in the number of mother and children now eligible is difficult to estimate. As the average number of children examined each year up to this has been only about 110,000, out of which about 70,000 " cases " for treatment emerged, it would be safe to multiply the present cost by four or five. Much, of course, will depend on the capitation fees offered to the maternity doctors, the remuneration of nurses, hospital costs. But the total cost of this Mother and Child service alone may easily be in the region of £1,500,000 to £2,000,000.

III

" The Middle Income Group "

The most difficult problem facing the drafters of the Bill must have been the provision for the " not so poor " and " not so rich " class of people who, before we are finished, will be assuredly told that they " form the back-bone of the country." Section 14 is the attempt to solve this problem and, in my opinion, the attempt is a failure, a gallant failure,

if you will, but one which, if persisted in, will cause serious damage of various kinds to the community. The attempt, I believe, is not only based on a pernicious principle, indeed on more than one bad principle ; but from a pragmatical point of view and even from the point of view of expediency is most undesirable. One is reminded of Clough : well-intentioned humanitarian philanthropic reformers content

> " To finger idly some old Gordian knot,
> Unskilled to sunder and too weak to cleave,
> And with much toil attain to half-believe."

Let it be admitted that the problem is a Gordian knot : morally, socially, financially, professionally and administratively. It was, of its very nature, always a tangled and snarled skein. But the previous efforts to unsnarl it, especially with regard to maternity, have merely made bad worse and left an *hereditas damnosa* to successors.

Section 14 is the first of the three major defects of the Bill : and not only a major defect, but truly a most astonishing one. There was never any serious controversy or difficulty about the solution of the problem of the really poor, nor, indeed, about the schemes for children, where these respected parents' rights. The numbers involved and the cost were, of course, grave matters : but they were chiefly financial, technical and administrative problems, not matters of principle. But the whole 1950–51 controversy obviously centred round the problem of the lower, and not-so-low, middle class : and many middle class minds were muddled and many middle class votes were won by the, at times, hysterical emotionalism which characterized certain of the writings and especially the speeches of the time. The general impression left was that it was precisely the middle class, with relatively small salaries and absolutely large positions to keep up and expenses to meet, that most urgently needed help in meeting the cost of the care of the health of themselves and their families. It is this middle class group on whom probably a disproportionately heavy burden of both direct and indirect taxes rests ; they are most affected by the rise in the cost of living ; they have various expenses, from their very social position and their function in society, which they cannot avoid. On the other hand, it is they who contribute possibly most to the national output (we must remember that " high income " really means " high output ") and wealth of the community ; they are potential savers ; from them are recruited the members of all those vital learned and professional services which make a civilized community possible, and it is they who support and make possible most of the recreational, cultural and educational amenities of the community. If there is any class which the community ought to regard with a beneficent and benevolent mind it is the middle class. Finally, from out of their pockets comes the money which is necessary to supply efficient

general practitioner, medical, surgical and specialist services and comfortable hospital services, *without charge*, for the 1,000,000 lower income group.

The middle income group of the Bill consists of the adults of the £600 a year families, the adults of about 50 per cent. of the farming families of the country, and the 680,000 insured persons : a total that must amount to over one million adult persons. The agricultural holdings under £50 valuation number roughly 350,000, but probably 150,000 of these belong to persons in the lower income group. This would leave about 200,000 holdings of under £50 valuation, with say 2½ or 3 adults eligible for the middle income group, a total of 600,000 persons. (One grows more and more sceptical of the official estimate of the numbers in the lower income group—one-third of the population, one million persons ?).

For this middle income group, (i) there are no general practitioner's services, either medical or surgical, provided free or not free ; there are no free medicines, and no free medical or surgical appliances ;

(ii) there are, however, dental and ophthalmic treatment and dental, optical and aural appliances made available either free or else at charges approved by the Minister ;

(iii) there are, moreover, " institutional services " (*i.e.*, hospital maintenance, treatment and nursing) at a charge of not more than £2 2s. per week, and specialist services (not including ophthalmic, but presumably including dental) free. It is not clear whether these specialist services are available to persons in their own homes, outside the hospital. What is clear is that no " hospital services " (*i.e.*, nursing and medical or surgical treatment) may be given, even at £2 2s. per week, for persons living outside the hospitals or convalescent homes. Except for maternity cases, there are no " on the district " patients in this group. There is a strong incentive to get into hospital at all costs, if you don't mind a public ward.

(iv) I have already dealt with the free, or nearly free, maternity services, which apply also to this group, and to the free services available to all or most of the children of this group.

That is, practically, the sum total of the Bill's interest in this middle income group ; and, bluntly, it is not good enough.

We begin by asking why was the level of £600 chosen as the limit of this group, especially in the way this £600 is calculated in section 14 subsection (6). There are a number of adult persons with an income of up to £1,000, who, with taxation at its present level and the value of what money is left to them so drastically reduced, are as deserving of the consideration of the community as persons in the lower income group. By definition, of course, all middle income persons are able by their own industry to provide for themselves medical and surgical treatment.

Otherwise they would automatically be in the lower income group. But the very Bill itself, by including them in various benefits, abandons (and rightly abandons) this formal and legalistic view of things. This group, up to the £1,000 a year level, can without undue hardship, contribute something to the cost of the health services its members need, but the individual members of the group who do meet with ill-health should not be asked to meet all their health costs nowadays. The cost of simple medical and surgical treatment to-day, the cost of new methods of treatment, equipment, drugs, blood-infusions, has almost no limit. For people of this group who are used to and justifiably desire certain minimum standards of privacy, independence, amenities, the cost of nursing homes is becoming prohibitive. It is no answer to say, as the White Paper says, that the State will give this group hospital services in public wards (only), and that no payment will be made in respect of persons desiring private or semi-private accommodation. This is the vicious, doctrinaire, egalitarian tenet of all socialistic thinking : level everyone down, if necessary, but above all do not tolerate inequalities. We ought not to bury our heads in the sand with regard to this matter.

The middle class, as a whole, contributes very substantially to providing efficient and far-reaching free health services for the poor, and does so gladly and generously. On what principle of social and distributive justice does the community then say to this class : " You will get no help from me whatsoever to secure general medical services : and if you want hospital services, you will pay for the same services in the same conditions that you yourselves have provided free for others." There is such a virtue as distributive or proportionate justice : all classes should share, not necessarily equally, but at least in some proportionate degree, in the burdens *and* the benefits of community life. It is a principle fully recognized in taxation laws : there is progressive taxation, where the person who has the greater output pays the heavier tax. But the same principle, in reverse as it were, should (and does apply) in distributing benefits. The middle class need have nothing to be ashamed of, though sometimes it is, in claiming benefits congruous and suited to the position the class holds in the community and the services and benefits it confers on the community. It is no solution to the problem to say : " Free services for the lower income group : the same type of services for the middle income group, but paid for by at least a token payment." Many of the middle income group do not want and will not use the exact type of service which the State provides free. It is not just, in society as we know it to-day, to say : " That or nothing." Moreover, the community is bound by the moral virtue of prudence, just as much as by charity and social justice. And prudence tells any community to foster and guard its middle class for their high social and economic value, and not to allow them to be destroyed. It is to be hoped that the great

and highly deserving Irish middle class, generally so inarticulate, will make itself heard now on this section 14 of the Bill.

Equally pernicious is the power given to a county council to discriminate among the members of the middle income group, and give the "institutional services" free to some and not to others—without any appeal to the Courts or the Minister being open to those refused free services. Did the drafters of the Bill forget that a county council is an elected body and that sick people have votes and can influence votes—or have we all become cynics?

There are probably many solutions to this problem of the middle income group, and no doubt discussion in the coming weeks will make us all better-informed and wiser men. Speaking (as St. Paul says) as one "less wise" and very tentatively, an attractive solution seems to lie along the line of compromise. The provisions as they stand in section 14 of the new Bill could remain, undesirable as they seem, but only as one of two alternatives. A person in the middle income group would then have a choice between two different methods of obtaining assistance in health matters from the community. The alternative would, obviously, be an insurance scheme, such as is well-known in various forms in other countries, and especially in England to-day.[1] The community should ascertain what it costs per head to give the Bill's full services to the lower income group, who get them free, both the general practitioner and the hospital and specialist services. These are unlikely to cost less than £3 10s. or £4 per head: and are more likely to cost £5 10s. or £6. There should then be set up a non-profit making insurance company, a *régie coopérative*, as it would be called in France, which would insure all who wished in the community, except the lower income group, against various health risks at varying premiums. This company should be free either to set up its own private nursing homes or use the services of existing ones or other hospitals on a contract basis. It would make its own arrangements with the medical profession, presumably on a capitation grant, with free choice of doctor and free acceptance or refusal of patient. There should be three classes of "shareholders" or members of the *régie coopérative*: the community as a whole, represented by the Minister for Health; the prospective patients or insured persons; and the medical profession, doctors, dentists, nurses, hospitals, chemists.

The income of this co-operative society would come from an annual payment from each member of the three classes. The community would undertake to pay, if necessary, a sum equivalent to the annual premium paid by an insured person, up to a maximum of the cost per head of the free scheme for the lower income group. Thus, if a person could only afford a small premium for the essential minimum services, say £2 a year, the community, on condition that the minimum benefits

[1] See Note at end of Article.

would be as good at least as the free scheme for the lower income group, and therefore better than those in the Bill for the middle income group, would add to this premium another £2 a year, which would probably be only half or a third of the cost per head of the free scheme. The professional members, who would be benefitting from having provided for them a sort of market, in which to sell their services, would contribute some small, almost nominal sum, each year : doctors and surgeons, say, £10, nurses, £1, nursing-homes or hospitals, £50, and so on, which would probably suffice to meet office and administration expenses.

It should be possible to make the benefits sufficiently attractive, the services, both medical and hospital, sufficiently alluring, to win the support of such a number of persons above the lower income group as would make it feasible to keep the premium very low. There are at least one million possible clients of such a society, probably a million and a-half if we included the children under 14 of the middle income group. If only one-third of these insured, the annual premium income, with the State contribution, would be sufficient to secure an excellent service. The average premium might have to be in the region of £5 per person which most people of this group would gladly afford. The State contribution to such a premium, say £3 or £4, would secure a substantial income. The actual limitation of the number of patients per doctor would be self-adjusting, as a patient would leave a doctor who was too busy to give him time or who kept him waiting in an over-full waiting room. The co-operative might have to pay differential fees to doctors of out-standing ability and consequent popularity. In England the medical profession itself put a limit of 3,500 and would have preferred 3,000 clients on any general practitioner's list. The payment system in England (a basic capitation grant, with additional grants) gives a doctor with 2,500 patients on his list an annual income of £2,625 with certain additional mileage, emergency, maternity and " stranger " grants. In Ireland, this annual remuneration would probably be acceptable as an average for general practitioners. Specialists, consultants, and what are known in England as " special distinction " practitioners should be separately provided for. For, 500,000 assumed insured persons, there would be required roughly £500,000 for doctors' remuneration. This ought not to be more than one-eighth of the total cost of the services, leaving a good margin for hospital services.

IV

Hospital Administration

The second major defect in the Bill is, in my opinion, the decision to leave the hospitals and hospital and specialist (and consultant) services under the control, direction and responsibility of the county council or

corporations of county boroughs. It is difficult to find one single advantage in this arrangement, and easy to find three or four serious disadvantages. Certainly it is convenient, administratively, to get the county councils to undertake the innumerable " odd jobs " of a factotum. But popularly-elected bodies, especially those with both a national and local political colouring in their membership, are not suitable bodies for highly technical and professional work such as administering a hospital system. This is too important a task to be included as one of the multifarious activities of already over-burdened local bodies, elected for quite other purposes. Hospital systems should be under the full-time care of a largely professional and vocational body which would have no other functions, distractions, or, above all, political interests and which should not be subject to political or electoral pressure.

In Great Britain with its far longer experience and tradition of local government and its acknowledged flair for administration, it was decided to transfer the administration of all the hospitals and their services to new Regional Hospital Boards, or, in the case of teaching Hospitals, to Boards of Governors. Each " Hospital Region " was based on its own University centre. In Ireland, it would be easy and beneficial to have three such Regional Hospital Boards based on the University centres of Dublin, Cork and Galway. The Regional Hospital Boards are appointed by the Minister for Health, who must consult the University of the Region, the medical profession, the Local Health Authorities, and such other organizations as appeared to him to be concerned, including organizations representative of the voluntary hospitals. The Boards consist of twenty to thirty members. They direct the policy, the organization and the appointments of medical specialists. A Board might be responsible for a group of eight or ten hospitals. The supervision of buildings, provision of equipment and general co-ordination of similar activities would fall to it.

For the purely local administration of the individual hospital, a Hospital Management Committee is appointed, together with its chairman, by the Regional Board concerned, which must consult various interested bodies before making the appointments. Special arrangements are made for the Boards of Governors of Teaching Hospitals, and, in Ireland, would have to be made for Voluntary Hospitals.

V

Patient—Doctor Relationship

The third major defect of the Bill and, indeed, of the White Paper, is the absence of any clear indication that the dispensary system will be modified, and the failure to give any information as to how doctors working under the Bill will be paid and how much their reasonable

remuneration will cost the community. It would not be fair to say that the Bill continues and extends the old dispensary system with its salaried part-time doctors employed by some public body or health authority. But section 47 seems to accept the same principle, if not even the same method, of " dispensary districts " and " district medical officers." It may happen that the poorer people of a district do not, for one reason or another, want to have the dispensary doctor of their district as their medical attendant. If these people are in the lower income group they have no choice, except to go outside their district or try to get a private practitioner to attend them. It may happen that a dispensary doctor is left without any substantial number of patients the whole year round and is still paid his salary (a meagre[1] one, it is true). This is all wrong. Why should the community try to force its poorer members to go to a doctor chosen not by them, but by some completely disinterested body, which knows nothing of all the really important elements which guide each family in choosing one rather than another doctor? Human persons have many needs and re-actions which cannot be met by purely professional or technical qualifications, however high. If the community decides that certain persons must have free medical services, it should not go on then and force from these persons a price, the surrender of their liberty in the choice of one who should be in the most intimate personal relations with themselves and their families. The means' test has been violently (in my opinion, wrongly) attacked, the " red " ticket is to be changed, but are the really important defects, the absence of free choice of doctor, and the compulsion to call in a salaried employee of the State or Co. Council, to be left ? It does not make much difference to a herd of animals which " vet," if he is properly qualified, looks after them. It makes an enormous difference to a human being to know that he himself has chosen his doctor and can change him ; that he is on terms of equality with his doctor, not merely one of the " routine jobs " that he is paid to do. This is not a criticism of the dispensary doctors, past or present ; we may take it that they were and are humane, kindly, often loved and respected men, of high professional qualifications, who are devoted and self-sacrificing in looking after their patients. But it is a criticism of the system, a system that has probably outlived its time and is ripe for modification. There will, of course, have to be Health Centres and there are a number of functions for which medical and other officers of local authorities will be required. But the general principle, already accepted in the case of maternity and infant services, should be applied all round—

[1] There are about 600 dispensary doctors (part-time) : the salary is in the region of £500. If the official estimate of 1,000,000 persons *availing* themselves of the services of these 600 doctors is accurate, then the average number of patients per doctor is about 1,600. This is a capitation fee per head of *actual* patients (*not* of those on a " list ") of 6s. 8d. In England, the capitation grant, *not* of those *availing of,* but of those merely possible patients on a list of 1,500 is 23s. 8d.

a poor person (i) should choose his own doctor and (ii) that doctor should not be a salaried employee of a public authority.

There are two fundamental principles involved in this question, and it is good to see how clearly and firmly the I.M.A., following the example of the B.M.A., has taken its stand with regard to them. The same two principles are operative in other social institutions and arrangements in this country, notably in the National University and its constituent colleges and in the primary education system, the national schools. The first of the principles governs the doctor-patient relationship, the second the doctor-State relationship.

It is instructive to see how this problem was dealt with under the Health Act in England. A timely, and brilliant, book[1] has just appeared, which enables us to follow the dramatic clash that took place between Mr. Bevan and the British Medical Association precisely on this question. The chapter dealing with it is a monument to the good sense and courtesy of both the doctors and the Minister and his advisers : everyone concerned comes out of a tough and prolonged struggle, in which serious issues were at stake, with great credit.

Mr Ross states the problem as it presented itself to the profession. The doctors " as a body . . . felt grave concern for their professional freedom : in particular they feared the possibility of the introduction of a salaried service and the disintegrating effect that that would have on the quality of their professional work." As was mentioned above, the principles involved are the same as those in our educational systems. University professors and lecturers, although paid largely from public funds, are neither employed by the State nor are they State-salaried servants. Even the amounts paid to individual professors are not under the control of the State. The professors are employed by the University Colleges, which are autonomous bodies. Grants are made from public funds to these autonomous bodies : but the professional freedom of the professors and others is not thereby put in jeopardy. Moreover, the relationship of professor to undergraduates, or of president or registrar to undergraduates, is not the relationship of a civil servant or other State official to a private citizen.

The same principle is found in the national schools, where the Manager employs and controls the teacher, while the State merely pays his salary. The relationship between teacher and State, or between teacher and pupil and parent is very different from what it would be were our national schools purely " State schools." It may seem, and has often been said with the " practical " man's impatience, that this is all over-subtle. But Pascal was right in saying " La verité est dans les nuances," and Shakespeare very wise in knowing

[1] The National Health Service in Great Britain. By James Stirling Ross. Oxford University Press. 1952. 30s.

that men are right " greatly to find quarrel in a straw when honour's at the stake." Where a doctor or a teacher is a salaried employee of the State, he is responsible to the State and is, necessarily, under the direction of the State. A patient can never get away from being the patient of a State official in such circumstances. He may, if he likes, change his doctor, but he is only changing from one State employee to another. On the other hand, where the patient " employs " the doctor (by choosing to be on his " list ") and where the doctor is not a salaried official but is paid, by the State, on behalf of the patients on the list, by capitation grants, then a patient does come to the doctor as an independent paying client : he does not come merely as a citizen employing a public official doing merely one of his routine jobs. This has nothing to do with the technical efficiency or inefficiency of the service given : it has much to do with the human values, which are important in certain services, such as teaching and medicine. Dispensary doctors do give a conscientious and excellent technical and professional service, but there is much more than that in doctor-patient relationship.

From the start the doctors in England made it clear that they had no dispute with the Minister about money or the amount of remuneration. The Minister accepted this and never tried to impute mercenary or selfish motives to the doctors. In the end, the actual figures for remuneration caused very little trouble: both sides rapidly came to an amicable agreement on this point. Actually, the cost of doctors' remuneration must necessarily be such a relatively small percentage of the total cost of a national health scheme that it should not be a serious obstacle. In the British scheme the total cost of the agreed remuneration for the 20,000 general practitioners comes to little more than 12 per cent. of the total cost of the scheme. But while there was " no dispute about money," there was a serious crisis about the above principles. As late as January, 1948, the B.M.A. declared that the Act " in its present form is so grossly at variance with the essential principles of our profession that it should be rejected absolutely by all practitioners." The Minister (and presumably his Civil Service advisers) fought hard to secure the acceptance of a " basic salary " : the doctors refused. The " basic salary," even if only a " token " salary, would have surrendered the whole vital principle that doctors would not (and should not) be employed by the State or be the paid salaried officials of the State or local authorities and that patients, whether they paid or not, should not have, as wards or slaves of the State, to seek for medical help from State officials, but as independent persons from independent members of a free and independent profession. Even the Minister's attempts to get the " basic salary " (of £300 a year) accepted for " new entrants as an aid to starting in practice for (say) a three years' period " was rejected. Finally, it was abandoned, gracefully, by the Minister and an acceptable method of remuneration was

agreed to. A solemn promise was made " most cordially " by the Government that a whole-time service would not be introduced by regulation.

According to the final agreed plan of a Joint Working Party, accepted last June, general practitioners enter into a contract of service, not with the State or a local authority, but with an " Executive Council for General Practitioner Services."

There is normally one of these Councils for each Local Health Authority area. They consist of twenty-five members, twelve lay and twelve professional, with a Chairman who is elected by the Council itself. Of the twelve professional members, seven are appointed by the Local Medical Committee and two by the Pharmaceutical Committee. The Minister appoints five lay persons, the Local Authority eight. Two most important functions of these Executive Councils are to deal, under the direction of a Medical Practices Committee, with applications from doctors who wish to set up practice in their area or to succeed in a vacancy, and to report on these to the Central Medical Practices Committee. It is the Executive Council of a given area which enters into contracts of service with such doctors as wish to practice under the system in that area and who wish to be put on the approved list of the area. At the moment there are about 20,000 general practitioners with contracts of service under Executive Councils, and about 95 per cent. of the population has registered with the doctor of their choice. There is no longer any sale of practices : compensation amounting to £66,000,000 was provided to buy out the value of the existing practices.

Each general practitioner is allowed to have a maximum of 3,500 names on his patients' list. Everyone is free to get his name, if the doctor accepts him, on the list of whatever doctor he chooses. The Medical Practices Committee is to divide up the country into three classes of area : restricted, doubtful, designated. These last areas, " designated " are areas in which there is a shortage of doctors, " open areas," which carry an additional remuneration of £600, £450 and £200 for the first, second and third years of practice—the so-called " Initial Practice" allowance.

For the remuneration of the general practitioners who have contracts of service with their local Executive Councils, there is set up a " Central Pool," the size of which was determined by the Danckwerts award of March, 1952. Mr. Justice Danckwerts held that to remunerate the 20,000 general practitioners a sum of £51,252,000 would be required. The award was accepted by the Government and by the profession. The distribution of the " Central Pool " was agreed to on the following lines recommended by the Joint Working Party. Each general practitioner will receive a capitation fee of 17s. (for 1952-53) for each of the first 500 names on his list : this is the " basic capitation fee " taking the place

of the " basic salary." For the next 1,000 patients on his list (*i.e.*, 501 to 1,500) he will receive 17s. plus 10s., in all 27s. After 1,500 he will receive once more the basic fee 17s. up to 3,500 patients. Thus if he has the maximum number allowed, his remuneration, from capitation fees, is :—

		£
17s. each for	first 500 ...	425
27s. „	next 1,000 ...	1,350
17s. „	„ 2,000 ...	1,700
		£3,475

This is an average of 19s. 10d. per patient on his list. If, however, he had only 1,500 on his list, he would receive £1,775, an average of 23s. 8d. per patient.

Besides this remuneration from capitation fees, a doctor can earn fees for attendance on temporary residents, for emergency treatments, for mileage travelled. If he undertakes the training of a young doctor as his assistant, he will be paid a special grant. If he attends maternity cases over a certain fixed period before and after the birth, he receives a special fee of £5 5s. or £7 7s. for each case. There is, finally, a contributory superannuation scheme on generous terms. The Executive Council deducts 6 per cent. of all payments as a current contribution to the superannuation fund from the doctors ; on the other hand, the public funds give each doctor a book credit of 8 per cent. of the gross payments made to him.

The position, then, is that the patient " employs " the doctor and the doctor " accepts " the patient ; there is a direct professional doctor-patient relationship. It is not the State which employs the doctor to attend the patient ; nor does the patient have to deal with someone employed by and responsible to someone distinct from himself. The doctor is chosen by and responsible to the patient alone ; but he is paid by his local Executive Committee, not for this or that particular patient, but for all who have chosen him. He is " their " doctor, not the Executive Council's doctor.

As there are 3,000,000 persons in the Republic, 1,000 General Practitioners each with 3,000 names on his list would cover the country. The total sum for capitation fees, on the British Scale, for 3,000 patients is £3,050, just £1 per patient, which means a total Central Pool of £3,000,000 plus expenses and mileage charges, as well as Initial Allowances. As the Republic is a thinly-populated, mainly rural, area, it would not be feasible for many doctors to have 3,000 patients within easy reach. It is more likely that 2,000 patients would be the practicable figures, and even then there would be heavy mileage expenses. For 2,000 patients

a general practitioner would receive, from capitation fees alone, a yearly sum of £2,200, an average of 22s. per patient. The Central Pool would then have to be considerably over £3,300,000. Actually there are some 1,700 medical doctors in the Republic. Allowing for specialists and those retired, there is probably one general practitioner available for every 2,000 persons.

With regard to the remuneration of consultants and specialists, the second Spens Committee laid down the general lines. All consultants and specialists under the scheme are an integral part of the Hospital Services and come under the Regional Hospital Boards, not under the Executive Councils as do general practitioners. The final arrangements, accepted by both the Government and the hospital staffs in 1949, were as follows : Consultants appointed at the age of 32 or over would receive for full time service an initial salary of £1,700 rising by annual increments of £125 to £2,075 in the fourth year, and then by £150 to £2,375 in the sixth year, and then by £125 to £2,750 in the ninth year. There are, in addition, " special distinction " awards, of three grades : an annual value of £2,500, of £1,500 and of £500. Four per cent. of the consultants will receive the highest, ten per cent. the next, and twenty per cent. the lowest. Both the salary and the awards are reckoned in calculating the superannuation benefits. Senior Hospital Medical and Dental Officers receive £1,300 rising by annual increments of £50 to £1,750; Senior Registrars get £1,000 to £1,300 ; Junior Registrars £775 for first year and then £890.

It may be asked on what grounds were the particular scales of remuneration for general practitioners and consultants arrived at. These grounds may be found in the terms of reference given to two Committees of enquiry, presided over by Sir Walter Spens. Mr. Ross tells us that " the length of training, and the arduousness and responsibility of the doctor's life," as well as the " need for maintaining the status of general practice within the profession " were dominant considerations. The first Spens Committee was asked to consider " what ought to be the range of total professional income of a registered medical practitioner in any publicly organised service of general medical practice." It was instructed to have in mind " the normal desirability of maintaining in the future the proper social and economic status of general medical practice and its power to attract a suitable type of recruit to the profession."

In its Report it stressed the importance of " securing such variations of income as are necessary if different degrees of ability, effort and resulting work are to be suitable remunerated."

With regard to the scale of remuneration for consultants, the second Spens Committee was to bear in mind " the financial expectations of

consultants and specialist practice in the past," " the financial expectations in other branches of medical practice," " the necessary post-graduate training and qualifications required."

As we noted earlier in this article, the difference between the total national income of Great Britain (about £11,000 million) and ours (about £370 million) is enormous : a ratio of almost 30 to 1. The income per head differs greatly also, perhaps 2 to 1 ; ours is little more than half that of Great Britain. But, unfortunately, this fact cannot have a proportionately powerful effect either on the absolute cost of our health services, the incidence of sickness, or the cost of training and rewarding our doctors ; the things themselves are not correlated. A doctor in a Scottish or Welsh village is as costly to train, has essentially the same substantial responsibilities, the same arduousness (or more perhaps) of life as a doctor in the wealthy parts of Devon or Surrey, or the poor districts of Leitrim or Donegal. There will have to be much the same level of remuneration for doctors in Ireland, England, Scotland and Wales. Here, as in so many other cases, the export price may easily fix the home price. But apart from the danger of the competitive pull from England on our best and most energetic medical men, the principle that a poor country can only afford a poor pay to its professional men cannot, in practice and everyday life, be carried too far, once the State has entered the field. If the State, instead of leaving it to private persons, wishes to provide and pay for medical services for any large section of the community, then we fear the plea of being a poor country will not get a ready assent. The State, to many, if not to most people, is never poor. That is one of the intrinsic dangers of State intervention.

We should like to close, as we began, with a word of appreciation to the Minister and his officials, who have put their hand to the plough and opened up yet another furrow in the large field of national health services. They are probably hardened enough in public life not to expect too much enthusiasm or too much gratitude ; but they have gone far to deserve a great deal. We trust they will go still farther and deserve still more.

EDWARD J. COYNE

NOTE. The British United Provident Association, for example, gives a man of between 25 and 34 years of age coverage for himself, his wife, and children amounting to some £325 in all for a yearly premium of £10. That is, ten weeks in a nursing-home at £12 12s. a week ; a surgeon's fee of £52 10s.; specialist's fee of £52 10s. and so on.

Tito and the Catholic Church

by JOHN MURRAY, S.J.

IN March this year a visit is to be paid to London by the President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. His family name is Josip Broz but, with that Communist predilection for secret and fancy titles, he has been known by many an alias, from "Comrade Walter" to "Marshal Tito." It is by the last-mentioned that he is more generally known.

That relations should exist, for mutual advantage, between the governments of Britain and Yugoslavia is natural enough, especially since Tito's defection from his original master, Stalin. What is not so readily appreciated in wide English circles is that a man with Tito's background and Tito's general outlook should be welcomed in England as an honoured guest. He is a tyrant and dictator, who has been responsible for great cruelties and widespread injustice; he is a Communist, professing a creed of contempt and hatred for the Western world; he is a militant atheist, who has pursued and is still pursuing a policy of persecution of religion and, to a particular degree, of the Catholic Church in Yugoslavia.

There are several points which might be discussed on this question of Tito and Yugoslavia, not the least of them the grounds for the Yugoslav break with Russia and to-day, four years after that break, the genuineness or not of Tito's relations with the West. But space does not allow me to deal with more than one big problem, the problem of Tito's attitude towards the Catholic Church.

Persecution in 1945

That the main objective of the Partisan movement, created and led by Tito during the war, was to establish a Communist government in Yugoslavia is not in doubt. Nor is there the slightest doubt that he gravely and deliberately misled the Allied authorities, among them Mr. Churchill, as to this intention. Nor indeed can any doubt be entertained about his attitude of persecution, as early as 1944 and 1945, to the Catholic Church. Facts speak for themselves, as they are given in a Joint Pastoral of the Catholic bishops, issued in September 1945.

The Pastoral declared that during the war a great number of priests were murdered, as the result of death sentences by the present authorities: 243 priests were killed, 169 were in prison, and 89 were missing. Death sentences were pronounced after summary trial, and the accused were

often ignorant of the charges alleged against them till the actual trial. Frequently, they were denied any defence, and were not permitted to have legal assistance or to call witnesses.

A specific instance of great brutality was then referred to. In the Franciscan monastery of Shiroki Brijeg all the friars, twenty-eight of them, were put to death : not one had touched a weapon, still less fought against the Partisans. None the less, hostile accusations were levelled against them, though most of them were well known as enemies to all Fascist ideology. There were cases, the Pastoral continued, in which thousands of faithful Catholics had begged the authorities to release priests, pledging their innocence. But this was of no avail : the priests were put to death. This proved that such sentences were not pronounced in the name of the people or of their Christian rights. They had been passed because the priests had views different from those of the Communist Partisans and not for any positive offences.

The Pastoral then spoke of the suppression of all Catholic periodicals and newspapers in the months immediately after the war and of the confiscation of printing presses owned by religious congregations. It pointed out how religious instruction in the primary schools had been relegated to a position of slight importance and in the secondary schools had been completely abolished. Materialism and hatred of religion were being openly encouraged and promulgated. Catholics were prevented from attending Sunday Mass through meetings and parades and manifestations that were deliberately arranged during the times of church services.

This document closed with an appeal for internal peace, that was so necessary for the people of Yugoslavia after their cruel experiences and the acute divisions of the war years. It is not our duty, declared the bishops, to offer concrete solutions for political, economic and national questions, provided the solutions sought and adopted conform with those general moral principles, that are obligatory for all men. The Church's concern is the spiritual welfare of her children, and the first condition of genuine peace in Yugoslavia is the restoration of full freedom to the Church.

Such was the situation towards the close of 1945. The complaints of the Catholic hierarchy were not heeded. Indeed, it was considered treason even to complain. After this Pastoral, and as a consequence of it, Archbishop Stepinac was arrested and imprisoned. Of the Archbishop, now Cardinal, I shall have more to say later.

It has become a fashion with certain visitors to Yugoslavia since 1948 to report that the churches are open and well attended, and that *accordingly* there can be no religious persecution ; or that what persecution

did exist has now largely abated ; or, finally, that the measures against the Church were the result, not of religious persecution, but of punishment for a disloyal attitude during the war.

Let us examine what is implied in such opinions.

Josip Broz was appointed Secretary-General of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in 1937. It was in the main due to his energy and skill that this Party, that had played so feeble a part in Yugoslav life between 1922 and 1937, now developed with branches in Croatia and Slovenia, that, in 1941, cadres and groups existed at varying levels of the national life, and that these were available for the formation of a Partisan Army. Throughout the war, he remained a convinced Communist, so convinced that he made little attempt to hide the true character of the Partisan movement. On more than one occasion he was rebuked from Moscow for showing his Communist hand so openly.[1]

Tito remained loyal both to Moscow and to his Marxist-Leninist ideology in the post-war years, and the policy of collectivization was pushed ahead more vigorously and ruthlessly in Yugoslavia than in any other satellite country, with the sole exception of Bulgaria.

Even after the break with Russia in 1948 Tito has insisted and insists still that he is a Communist. Indeed, his claim now is that the Yugoslav brand of Communism is the only genuine and truly Marxist brand. It is Russian Communism that is deviationist. Soviet Russia has excommunicated Yugoslavia from the Cominform, but it is Yugoslavia that proclaims the right to excommunicate Soviet Russia and the remaining satellites from the canon of Marxist-Leninist Orthodoxy.

Whatever changes may have taken place inside Yugoslavia in the past four years—and there have been considerable changes—it must

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[1] This is an interesting comment on Soviet policy during the war. According to Moshe Pijade, who composed in 1950 an account of Russo-Yugoslav relations during the war, Tito received, on March 5th, 1942, this telegram from Moscow :

> " Reviewing all your information one gets the impression that with some justification the followers of England and the (Royal) Yugoslav government believe that the Partisan movement is assuming Communist character and that it intends to sovietize Yugoslavia. Why, for instance, was it necessary to organize a special proletarian brigade when the basic and immediate task consists now in the unification of all the anti-Hitler elements in order to crush the occupier and achieve national liberation ? Is it really so that, besides the Communists and their followers, there are no other Yugoslav patriots with whom you could fight against the enemy ? It is difficult (for us) to agree that London and the (Royal) Yugoslav government are collaborating with the invader—there must be some misunderstanding. We beg you to review seriously your tactics and actions, to check whether you did all you could to create a united and real national front of all enemies of Hitler and Mussolini, in order to defeat the conqueror and invader and, if not, to take quickly the necessary steps and to inform us about them."

Pijade adds that Tito was irritated by this cable from Moscow. Writing to him on March 11th, Tito expressed annoyance that " Grandpa " (the code name for Soviet Russia) should be insisting that the Yugoslav struggle was national and not Communist, and that friendly references to the Soviet Union must be played down.

not be forgotten that Yugoslavia is still a Communist country. If there is a larger measure of liberty, this is only within the rigid framework of a Communist society. Tito has made this clear.

> It is evident that the Soviet system has frightened people away from Socialism. We, on the contrary, are seeking to advance towards Socialism in the most humane way. However, sometimes or even quite frequently, people do not understand—either because they *can not* or *do not want to*—the meaning of this revolutionary advance of our new Socialist changes. In our country therefore those people who *actively or in any way* work against these revolutionary changes *do not enjoy individual liberty* . . . Individual liberty is guaranteed by the law of our country, but *the law protects equally our system,* and if anyone acts against the law—in this regard—he must answer for it and take the consequences.[1]

If far-reaching decentralization is proposed in the new Federal Constitution which is now being introduced into Yugoslavia, Dr. Kardelj, the author of the constitution, is perfectly frank about its presuppositions. You are tolerated, if you think and act in the manner of which your masters approve. But woe betide you, if you do not. " The protection of the Socialist order from its enemies and the securing of freedom for its further development is the starting point of the constitutional law." If relations between Yugoslavia and Western countries have improved to the point when Tito can state that his country has received a milliard dollars' worth of Western assistance in different forms, he was able to assure Yugoslav university students that himself and his Party had violated not a single principle of Marxist-Leninist doctrine. " We have remained fixed and firm in our positions," he insisted ; " we have made no concession at all, either in internal or foreign policies." [2]

THE SITUATION NOW

While Communist principles are thus steadily and indeed flamboyantly asserted, one would scarcely expect to find that religious persecution had ceased. Violence may have become less blatant. The policy, however, is one and the same. A determined attempt is being made throughout Yugoslavia, and especially in Croatia and Slovenia, two almost entirely Catholic regions, to reduce the Church to impotence and to root out of the people, and particularly the young, all respect for and knowledge of the Catholic Faith.

Early in 1952 one of many campaigns was opened in the Yugoslav Press. It began in the journal of the Popular Front for Bosnia and

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[1] *Borba,* November 29-30th, 1951.

[2] *Borba,* March 16th, 1952.

Herzegovina at the close of January, and was taken up in turn by Communist papers for Croatia, Slovenia and Macedonia. In the Croat paper, *Napred,* religion was described by M. Kangraga, as man's worst condition of depravity. The work of Marxim is not simple atheism ; that is far too negative a position ; it is to liberate society from all forms of the *de-humanization* of man, and of these sinister forms religion is the most significant. The Marxist task is not merely to free men from prejudice and error ; it implies the social and revolutionary struggle against all conditions and aspects that *de-humanize* mankind, degrade and mutilate him.

The churches preach the after life, M. Kangraga continued, but they secure for themselves a purchase upon the goods of this world. In their essentials, the churches are only political organizations with their special economic interests—their doctrine is an ideological façade ; they have always been identified with dominant classes.[1]

These enemies of the Church do not stop short at abuse. Their sentiments are incorporated into the structure of Party programmes. Hardly any Party assembly breaks up without some such resolution as the following :—

> According to a resolution approved by the fifth plenary assembly of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Macedonia, the future tasks of Party organizations that have reference to ideological education are these. In its struggle to create new social conditions and to educate the workers in the true Socialist spirit, our Party cannot limit itself to the suppression of superstition. As the result of ideological influence exercised by the Party on the workers, these should be able to liberate themselves from the influence of religion in general and of mystiism. Religious liberty is assured in our constitution but this does not prevent our Party from pursuing a campaign of ideological and scientific propaganda against religious influence, prejudices and mysticism.[2]

The official attitude towards schools and education generally is most hostile. " The reactionary clergy, faithful to the Vatican "—we learn from another newspaper—" are naturally not pleased that our youth must no longer be brought up in the spirit of superstition. The priests, who are enemies of our people's regime, must not instruct youth either in school or at church. In our schools the youth study on the basis of scientific discoveries and grow up in an atmosphere of superior morality. The catechism in our schools would indeed be an anachronism. It is simply not in place. And in my judgment priests who bring up children in a superstitious spirit ought not even to teach the catechism in church. For to spread superstitition is to brutalize the people." [3]

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[1] This and other pertinent extracts from the controlled Press of Yugoslavia may be found in an article by Father Cavalli, S.J., in the *Civiltà Cattolica* for 19th April, 1952. The article has appeared in an English version in *The Sword,* September—October and November—December, 1952.

[2] *Nova Makedonia,* 4th March, 1952.

[3] *Ljudska pravica,* 15th December, 1951.

In pre-war Yugoslavia, religious instruction was given in all schools, at least in Catholic districts. To-day there are Catholic areas in Bosnia and Herzogovina where no such instruction is given, and it is forbidden to give it. In Croatia, an order of the Minister for Culture, dated January 31st, 1952, abolished such religious teaching. It could be had by children, only if their parents made formal demands for it ; and by making such a demand parents might leave themselves open to measures of discrimination.

In other districts, the choice as to whether religious instruction shall be tolerated falls to the local Communist committees. When some kind of permission is grudgingly given, the means available are totally inadequate. In Zagreb, the capital city of Croatia, five catechists are available for more than 20,000 children. They are permitted to give only five hours of instruction each week. The catechism period is always at the end of the day, when the children should be least receptive.

From Bosnia-Herzegovina it is reported that no teaching of children is allowed even in the churches except for preparation for First Communion : and that this is interpreted by some local Communist committees as meaning that the priest may teach the children how to genuflect and how to kneel but he may say nothing at all about the doctrine of the Eucharist.

The Papal Protest

On 15th December 1952, the Vatican addressed a diplomatic note to the government of Yugoslavia on the State persecution of the Catholic Church.

The protest contained two major parts. The first quoted hostile statements from the official Yugoslav press.

Among these was an extract from a circular, issued on February 9th, 1952, and signed by M. Kardelj, Vice-President and Foreign Minister, and M. Kidrich, President of the Economic Council. It was an official circular, with a high Party authorisation. It insisted that the youth were to be made to understand, on a basis of scientific reasoning, the "*negative and reactionary influence of religion and obscurantism.*"

M. Zanko, President of the Council for Culture in Croatia, is reported in the paper, *Vjesnik*, for 20th April 1952, as stating that any man who imagines that, on the basis of the freedom of conscience, guaranteed by the Constitution, he can introduce aims in education that are contrary to Marxism, is being false to his cultural responsibility, "just as if he were to teach that two and two make seven."

The same journal, *Vjesnik*, in its issue for 9th November 1952, commented upon the anti-religious campaign in an article by an academician, Marko Kostrenchic :

> The morality of Christ must be rejected, for it is unworthy of man and condemns man to a vegetative life. Christian morality drives men to commit cruelties on a vast scale. Socialist morality derives from the Marxist conception of the world. It denies the existence of another and a ' better ' world, of a kingdom of heaven up above, with its supernatural bogies and consolations, from the devil, the angels and saints to god (small initial used) and to gods of every sort. In our view, god (sic) is dead, and all the gods are dead. In our view, there exists only the visible, material, world.

Tito himself, speaking at a congress of Professors and Teachers (cf. *Borba*, 30th April 1952), admitted that these attacks upon religion and the Catholic Church were the official policy of his regime. " I know," he said, " that abroad we are reproached for taking our youth away from god (sic) and the Church. But we cannot permit these men to practise superstition ; and all this *is* superstition. Against superstition we have to fight."

The Vatican protest then adds details of hostile action.

Before the advent of the Communist government there existed 152 Catholic publications in Yugoslavia—monthlies, weeklies, dailies, with occasional bulletins. There were a number of printing presses and editorial firms, 24 of them of some importance. To-day all presses and publishing houses have been seized by the State, and practically all the publications have been suppressed or suspended. The Catholic Press at the moment is represented by a monthly bulletin, *Vjesnik*, reserved for the clergy and a monthly review, *Blagovest*, appearing in Belgrade. In addition, a leaflet of four monthly pages, *Druzina*, is issued by the Apostolic Administrator of Nova Gorica. And this tiny handful of publications would be immediately suppressed, did they dare to reply to the incessant abuse and calumnies of the Communist Press.

All Catholic institutes of education and schools have been closed. The State schools are saturated with a militant atmosphere of Atheism. Children have been expelled from grammar schools in Croatia because they absented themselves from school on Christmas Day. Thirty-two children were similarly expelled in Maribor on the grounds that they went to church.

The arrests of priests continue. The Vatican document declares that two hundred are still in prison, and that in the past few years thirty priests have been murdered. Their murderers have either remained undiscovered or unpunished or have received at most some trivial penalty.

Further crimes are instanced in this Papal protest : discrimination against priests in the matter of taxation, so that many priests have been reduced to beggary ; restrictions upon the liberty of several bishops and in one or two cases actual physical assault ; the confiscation of seminaries. In some areas, Catholic churches have been taken away from the faithful and handed over to sectaries like the " Old-Catholics," who have scarcely any adherents. Some churches have been deliberately destroyed, others converted into museums.

It is a sorry picture. Very evidently there emerges from it a definite and deliberate attempt to drive the Church out of the national life, to reduce her influence upon the people and to wean those people from any respect for her historic mission and her God-given truth. And this in a country, with provinces like Croatia and Slovenia that have been solidly and staunchly Catholic for more than a thousand years. Visitors to Yugoslavia may find that the churches are full. Let them look a little more deeply into what is happening in Yugoslavia, and they will see what persecution is, and that it is really to be discovered there. The Vatican document comments upon this point very aptly : " But if, despite all these sad experiences, the churches of Yugoslavia are so faithfully attended, far from bearing witness to a religious freedom that does not in fact exist, it simply demonstrates how living and profound is the religious sentiment of these faithful people."

LOOKING BACKWARDS

From the evidence I have briefly put together in this article it is, I submit, abundantly clear that there exists a real and severe persecution of the Catholic Church in Yugoslavia. In this respect, Tito is as much a Communist as Stalin ; any pretence that he has here accommodated himself to Western standards is quite unreal. But—the critic may further insist, for our critics are beyond all else ingenious—even granted that the Yugoslav government takes stern measures against the Catholic Church, is not this due to the bad part which that Church played in Yugoslavia during the war ? After all, Archbishop Stepinac was condemned, not on religious grounds, but for political reasons. Since the Stepinac case has been raised recently in England in more than one paper, it will be well to go into it in some detail.

Let us begin, however, with some short summary of the Yugoslav situation in 1941, when the Germans invaded the country and the country disintegrated in fact into a number of warring groups and sections.

In the first place, Yugoslavia is not an old and long-established realm. It came into being after the first World War as the " Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes," but this title was dropped in 1921 in favour of the shorter expression, Yugoslavia, or Land of the Southern Slavs. Its establishment was a gesture to the Serbs who had fought with great gallantry throughout the war. But included in it were two other peoples with a firm European tradition, the Croats, for long associated with Hungary, and the Slovenes who had formed part of pre-1918 Austria. Croats and Slovenes were Catholic, whereas the Serbs were Orthodox,in the main, and in part Moslem.

The new kingdom was confronted with several pressing political problems. Among them, that of Macedonia, where Yugoslav interests and aims ran counter to those of Greeks and Bulgars.

The most difficult of these problems proved to be that of relationship between Serbs and Croats. The former wanted a strongly centralised State, the latter a federation. In the early Parliaments, set up in Belgrade, the government was formed by two Serbian parties, the Radicals and the Democrats. In opposition, at least in theory, were the Croat Peasant Party plus some smaller groups and 58 Communist deputies, elected chiefly from Montenegro and Macedonia, where they had successfully exploited grievances and had polled a third of the available votes. Because of an attempt upon the life of the Regent and the assassination of the Minister for the Interior, the Communist deputies were expelled from Parliament, and the Party soon dwindled into insignificance.

For some time, the Croat Peasant Party would not assume its place in Parliament. Its leader, Stepan Radich, was abroad. By 1925, however, they agreed to form a constitutional opposition, but even then there was no steady harmony. Radich was imprisoned and his Party newspaper suppressed. A spell of calm followed this rough weather, and for a period Radich acted as Minister of Education in a coalition government. However, the storm broke out more violently in June, 1928, when, actually in the Parliament, two Croat members were shot dead, Paul Radich, nephew of the leader being one of them, and Stepan Radich, wounded, succumbed some months afterwards. The Croat deputies abandoned Belgrade, accepted Dr. Machek as their leaders, and at a national assembly, held in September, the Peasant Party and the Democratic Party of Croatia demanded separation from Serbia. The internal situation continued most tense. The king, Alexander, dissolved Parliament and took the power into his own hands. Alexander was murdered in 1934, by members of a Croat organization. The tension continued until March, 1939, when it was eased by the grant of some local autonomy to Croatia. The growing threat from Germany

and Italy brought Serbs and Croats a little nearer to one another, but Croat national sentiment was still strongly anti-Serb and the desire for independence was widespread.

It was into this situation that the German and Italian armies marched in April, 1941. The Yugoslav government, under the Prime Minister, Cvetkovich, had been compelled to yield to Axis pressure and had recently signed in Vienna a tripartite agreement that would permit the transit of German soldiers through Yugoslavia to Greece. This government was overthrown late in March by a *coup d'état*, organized by General Simovich and supported by a strong popular backing. When the Yugoslav armies collapsed, the Simovich government left the country, as did King Peter, and became the government in exile. It was the legal government of Yugoslavia for the rest of the war.

During the four subsequent years the situation within Yugoslavia was so complex and the confusion so confounded that it is most difficult to trace any coherent pattern. Loyalties were mixed, changeable, at times contradictory. Groups manoeuvred against other groups and frequently changed partners. A Serbian " government " functioned in Belgrade, the capital, under the presidency of General Nedich, in liaison with the Germans. There were more definitely pro-German sections in the *Volksdeutsche* and the followers of Ljotich. The Chetniks of General Mihailovich, official representative of the government in exile, were established in the mountains, fighting now against Germans, now against the Communist Partisans, at other times adopting a policy of waiting, and on occasions, at least in the person of subordinate commanders, collaborating with the Italians. Tito's Partisan troops fought against Germans, Italians and Chetniks but, it was rumoured, had relations with the Ustashi. These Ustashi were the forces of the new Croat State, created by the Italians and presided over by Ante Pavelich, who had assumed the Serbo-Croat equivalent of *Führer* or *Duce*, namely *Poglavnik*. General Rupnik controlled a " puppet " administration in Slovenia. The pattern was made even more intricate and picturesque by the existence of Blue Guards and White Guards in Slovenia, of Whites and Greens in Montenegro, and by various Bulgar, Albanian and Hungarian detachments in occupied portions of Yugoslavia.

A writer in a recent number of *Time and Tide* (London) has declared that, had the government in exile returned to power in Yugoslavia, it might have arraigned Archbishop Stepinac, as did Tito, on grounds of treason or, at least, of intelligence with the enemy. The suggestion was eminently foolish, for, as I shall show in a moment, the Archbishop's conduct throughout those troubled years was exemplary and judicious. It was especially foolish in an article proposing that we give a welcome to

Tito, whose aims right from the beginning were totally opposed to those of the King and exiled government. While we are dealing with this theme, it is worth mentioning that, with much clearer evidence, General Mihailovich, that government's official representative, might have been so arraigned for collaboration with the enemy—and not any internal enemy within Yugoslavia, but with the invaders and occupying forces from outside. In making this suggestion I have no wish to darken the record or memory of a very gallant man who in the end was treated with scant understanding and real ingratitude by the Western Powers but merely to point to the confusion and chaos of those years.

Any accusation of treason from Tito would be absurd, for Tito was the most openly proclaimed of traitors. His purposes throughout were perfectly clear—to make use of the war in order to create a Communist State in Yugoslavia. In his vivid story of the Partisan campaigns, Stephen Clissold quotes a secret directive issued by Tito at the time of the Simovich *coup d'état*. The Communists are to work for the overthrow of the monarchy and for the disintegration of Yugoslavia ; they are to create discord and demoralisation within the armed forces ; and work together with other forces of disintegration, such as the Ustashi.[1]

The Case of the Archbishop

After the break down of Yugoslav resistance, an independent State was inaugurated in Croatia. The Italian intention, particularly, was to dismember Yugoslavia and to have a territory under Italian influence in the Balkans. Many Croats doubtless at first welcomed the new State

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[1] *Whirlwind*. Published by the Cresset Press, London, in 1949. The paragraphs of the directive are given on page 27. They include these sentences :

1. The Yugoslav Communist Party is now in a position to take an active part in the overthrow of the present monarchical regime, and to this end will render assistance to all elements, regardless of their ideological outlook and character, which are bent on the same purpose. Yugoslavia must first be dissolved into its several component parts, and the party will then be able to pursue its work within each of them in accordance with the directives already issued.

2. Party members who may be called up to the army will have the following tasks to perform : firstly, *disorganize the resistance of the Yugoslav Army* . . . . ; secondly *collect all arms and war equipment . . . for later use* . . . .

3. Render any assistance necessary to the Ustashi, Macedonian, Albanian and other nationalist organizations, in so far as they may contribute towards the speedy overthrow of the present regime.

4. Germany will speedily crush Yugoslav resistance (the directive was given prior to the actual German invasion) and, with the help of Italy, introduce the Ustashi regime in Croatia and possible similar separatist regimes elsewhere. Steps must therefore be taken to infiltrate our own people into the new administrations for intelligence and other purposes.

in their fierce resentment at twenty years of Serb interference and oppression, even though it came into existence through the will of conquering armies. But the leaders of the State had been groomed abroad and they depended upon the masters who had put them in power. They had led the lives of conspirators and terrorists and were acclimatized to violence ; and they instituted a policy of violence towards the Serb minority in Croatia, expelling some of them from Croat territory, murdering others, and trying to turn Serbs into Croats, even through the manoeuvre of a forced conversion from Serbian Orthodoxy to Croat Catholicism. There is no doubt that cruel and savage crimes were committed in the name of national sentiment against these Croatian Serbs. And the Pastoral Letter of the Yugoslav bishops, to which reference was made at the beginning of this article, admits that in isolated instances priests were associated with this nationalist outbreak, while at the same time it points out that these instances were being used for wholesale anti-Catholic propaganda.[1]

The two main charges levelled against Archbishop Stepinac (the remainder were trivial and dependent on these) were his supposed collaboration with this new State of Croatia and with this movement of " forced conversions " of Serbs.

When one turns from the charges to the actual facts, one is impressed immediately by the correct and indeed generous attitude of the Archbishop. He had two alternatives : either stay with his people and act under difficult circumstances as their leader and pastor, or retire to a monastery, where of course he could not have carried through the admirable work of mercy and charity which he did. He made the proper, and incidentally the harder, choice. He remained in Zagreb and, in his capacity as head of the Church in Croatia, had what relations were necessary with the *de facto* government, to which he never took an oath of allegiance. In May, 1941, immediately after the proclamation of the new State, Pavelich led a delegation to Italy to offer the crown of Croatia to the Italian Duke of Spoleto. It was sought to include the Archbishop in the delegation, but he refused to associate himself with it.

The position of the Archbishop was recognized—and resented—by the Pavelich government. In May, 1943, for instance, when the Archbishop made his *ad limina* visit to Rome, that government made representations to the Holy See, asking that the Archbishop be asked " to

[1] " By this we do not intend to defend the guilty, as we know that there were isolated cases of priests, blinded by national and party passion, who committed offences against the law and had to be put on trial before a secular court. We must, however, emphasize that the number of such priests does not justify the serious accusations made in the Press and at meetings against the Catholic clergy in Yugoslavia. These are aimed only at deceiving the public and depriving the Church of her good name."

desist from his severe attitude to us." In December of the same year the Croat Minister of the Interior complained to the Apostolic Visitor to Croatia that Archbishop Stepinac " has never uttered a single word to show his adherence to us."

During the war, the secret radio of Tito's Partisans frequently acclaimed the Archbishop for his firm stand against the Nazis and their accomplices, and the monitoring files of the London BBC for the war years contain many a clear and grateful reference to the Archbishop for his unequivocal position.

Remaining as he did with his people and at Zagreb, he was able to mitigate the rigours both of the Pavelich government and of the war. Jews especially were indebted to him, for it was his insistence which had the Nuremberg racial legislation withdrawn in Croatia only a few days after its promulgation. Communists also had reason to be grateful to him, for he was able to secure reprieves from death sentences for some of them.

By the end of the war the Archbishop was a widely popular and venerated figure, with his prestige greatly enhanced by his firmness and great charity. In September, 1945, the newspapers of Yugoslavia published two photographs, showing the celebrations in Zagreb on the occasion of yet another new government, styled this time " the People's Government " in Croatia. Mgr. Stepinac was present in the photographs, with other Catholic and Orthodox dignitaries. But Tito's government was soon to discover, as had the government of Pavelich, that with the Archbishop first and foremost would come his spiritual and pastoral responsibilities, and that he would stoutly defend the claims and rights and freedom of the Catholic Church.[1]

[1] The whole question of the Archbishop and of the present condition of the Church in Yugoslavia was treated admirably in six articles that appeared in the *Tablet* (London) in December, 1952, and January, 1953. Their substance has recently appeared in a pamphlet, published by the *Sword of the Spirit*, under the title of *Tito and the Catholic Church*. The price is only sixpence. Rarely has so much been concentrated in so small a compass for so slight a cost.

In an Appendix the pamphlet quotes the testimony of a Welfare Agency which dealt with more than 10,000 victims of Nazi persecution, very many of them Jews from Yugoslavia. The secretary of the agency made frequent visits to Zagreb. " On these occasions he became acquainted with the charitable and heroic deeds of the Archbishop of Zagreb, Dr. Aloysius Stepinac. During the years of the Nazi tyranny the Archbishop's palace was open to all who sought refuge from the violence of the Nazi persecutors. The leader of the Jewish community in Zagreb declared that the Archbishop was the only man in authority who had publicly denounced the injustice and cruelty of the anti-Semitic campaign."

A further picture of the Archbishop is drawn by Stephen Clissold : he is speaking of the expectations of Pavelich :

> " From Dr. Alojisije Stepinac, Archbishop of Zagreb and Metropolitan of all Croatia, there was unfortunately little to be expected. His outward attitude had been correct enough and his tall, still youthful and athletic figure was often to be seen gracing the many official state functions he was called upon to attend. But he made no secret of his displeasure over certain things that the Ustashi were trying to do—their handling of the Jewish problem, for instance, and now the more fundamental matter of settling accounts with the Serbs. The Archbishop had been known to intervene with the Ustashi authorities to save the lives not only of the persecuted Jews and Serbs, but even of some Communist captives as well." (*Whirlwind*, p. 100).

The second of the two accusations against the Archbishop arose from the campaign instigated by the government of Pavelich to get rid of the Serbs from Croatia. One method employed by this government was that of forced conversion, supposing that a Serb who abandoned the Orthodox for the Catholic faith would thereby have repudiated his Serbian allegiance. Now, two things have here to be noted. An attempt was made forcibly to turn Orthodox into Catholics during this persecution of the Serbs. At the same time, a considerable number of Serbs applied to be received into the Catholic Church in order to escape the persecution. A similar situation had arisen in Hungary during the Nazi pogroms against the Jews. Many Jews had asked for baptism, thinking that this would render them immune from the anti-Semitic legislation of their oppressors. Indeed many were in possession of official documents declaring them to be Catholics, documents that were made out precisely with this purpose of protecting them.

That this case occurred also in Yugoslavia is evident from the speech of the Archbishop at his trial. A considerable number of Serbs had demanded to be received into the Catholic Church, with the idea that by so doing, they would escape from the Pavelich persecution. It was an awkward position for the Church authorities. On the one hand, charity urged them to do whatever they could to protect these Serbs ; on the other, it was an offence against honesty and well nigh a sacrilege to " fake " conversions. The Archbishop stated at the trial that he had been compelled to transfer priests from one parish to another on the grounds that the local Serbs were fiercely angry with them, *because* they would not receive them into the Catholic Church. In other words, these priests maintained that *conversion* must be a genuinely spiritual approach to the Catholic Faith and not an expedient adopted for other reasons, however serious and urgent in their own particular sphere. A Croat priest, giving witness at the trial, showed how strongly this appeal from the Serbian people came home to the priests.

> I know—he declared—that replies to the pleas of those who were demanding admission to the Catholic Church were not given on the spot, and I remember that those concerned came weeping to ask that the decision might be hurried, so as to save their lives. If we had not acted as we did, we could be reproached to-day for having refused to succour that desperate mass of people when we were able to do so.

This testimony makes it clear that many Serbs were actually received into the Church out of motives of mercy and protection. The Archbishop in his *ad clerum* of 2nd March, 1942, left as wide a latitude as he possibly could to his clergy. Anyone seeking admission into the Church " must embrace the Catholic religion with a pure intention, and not for motives that might not be correct, having faith in the truth of Catholicism. *If*

there are other secondary motices, provided that they have no sinful character *they will not be an obstacle.*"

Of the Archbishop's opposition to the anti-Serbian policies of the Pavelich government and to any *forced conversion,* in the regular sense of that epithet, there is abundance evidence.

In 1941, on 22nd May, he wrote to the Minister of the Interior denouncing the Pavelich treatment of Orthodox Serbs, Jews and gypsies.

Eight days subsequently, he again wrote, further insisting on proper treatment for these minorities.

In July, preaching in the Cathedral at Zagreb, he declared : " We call God to witness that we have always been opposed to any compulsory attachment to the Catholic Church. We must declare that the Church has done all in her power to give aid and protection to the Orthodox."

On 16th July, acting on instructions from the Archbishop, Mgr. Loncar, a canon of Zagreb, who was later executed by the Pavelich government, called upon the Minister for Religion. He threw upon the minister's table three hundred written demands from Serbs for admission into the Catholic Church.

> Whence does the State derive the right—he insisted— to force these people to embrace Catholicism ? This is a strictly religious question. The Church cannot, and does not wish to, receive the Orthodox *en masse,* but can receive only individual persons, when it has been established that they have not been subject to constraint . . . The Church cannot and will not accept the ownership of any ecclesiastical or parish building of the Orthodox.

The Archbishop reiterated the same protests in a letter to Pavelich on November 20th, 1941, vigorously condemning at the same time the Pavelich persecution of the Orthodox. And after the meeting of the hierarchy in December of the same year, he again wrote to Pavelich to inform him of the position of the bishops :

> The solution of all questions regarding the conversion of dissidents is in the exclusive competence of the hierarchy. Only those could be received into the Church who, without having been subjected to force of any kind, might be converted of their own free will, after having become convinced in their own minds that the Catholic Chuch is the only true Church. All illegal procedures against the personal liberty and against the property rights of dissidents should be most rigorously prohibited.

It is more than evident from these and other details that the Archbishop's attitude and conduct throughout these troubled years were those of a worthy, courageous and highly responsible man. He defended the rights of the Church and the integrity of conversions ; championed

the cause of harassed and persecuted humanity and succoured the sick and the distressed. He refused to compromise with arbitrary governments, whether that of Pavelich or of Tito. His person is venerated to-day and his prestige stands supremely high in the hearts of the Croat people, who are unable under Tito, as they were under Pavelich, to express their true sentiments and opinions. It was to that people's heart the Archbishop himself appealed in his speech to the self-styled " People's Court " that condemned him. " If you think—he said—that the Croat people are satisfied with their present fate, I challenge you to give them once more the opportunity of expressing freely their own will." It was because of that very prestige and of his position in his own people's hearts that the Tito government endeavoured to dishonour and degrade him and to remove him from that people's life.[1]

JOHN MURRAY, S.J.

[1] The London *Times* for 23rd February, 1953, reported the opening of the congress of the People's Front of Yugoslavia, which is to have the new name of Socialist Alliance of the Working Class. The congress called upon all " progressive movements " to join forces as the only way to preserve peace. Socialists, it declared, must prevent the " most reactionary circles " in the West from organizing a crusade against progressive movements under the guise of a movement against Communism. These circles " with the Vatican at their head " wrongly identified what is progressive with that Power in the East which is *just as reactionary* as they are, *if not more so*. This, the congress asserted, is playing the Russian game for their influence could spread to " that progressive stratum that has not yet seen through the true character of the capitalist bureaucratic system of the Soviet State.

The Future of Ireland's Inland Fisheries

by JAMES J. DAVIN

IT is a curious phenomenon of our time that, while there is general agreement regarding the necessity for increasing exports to pay for the raw materials of our industries and for some of the food required to maintain our present standard of life, little or no attempt has yet been made to develop the economic potentialities of our inland fisheries.

At this day and age, in view of the Report of the Inland Fisheries Commission, 1933–35, it ought not be necessary to document the contention that our inland fisheries are capable of playing a major part in the country's visible and invisible export trade. In view, however, of apparent widespread lack of appreciation of their possibilities, it is necessary to sketch the extent and quality of our fresh water resources, the variety and value of their produce, and to trace briefly their economic history.

EXTENT OF INLAND WATERS :

The country possesses some hundreds of lakes covering in all upwards of 618,000 acres, as well as hundreds of fish-bearing rivers aggregating in length about 9,000 miles. The ratios of water to land in this, and in the neighbouring island are illuminating :—

Ireland ...	...	1 : 35
Scotland ...	...	1 : 146
England ...	...	1 : 171

The structure of this country is responsible for the unusual amount of lake water insofar as the principal mountain ranges are near the coast, and the prevailing rock structure of the central plain, being of carboniferous limestone, provides many basins for the inflowing rivers before they find their way to the sea. Conditions in these " limestone lakes " are very favourable for the growth of fish food.

The rainfall ranges from 80 to 30 inches per annum according to districts, and is comparatively even throughout the year, ensuring good water levels in rivers and lakes. The climate is equable, and even during the severest winters a frozen river is a very rare occurrence. The natural requirements for the propagation and rapid growth of fish co-exist in our fresh waters—favourable water temperatures, abundant food, and ample rainfall ensuring an easy passage of migratory and non-migratory fish to their spawning grounds.

VARIETIES OF FRESH-WATER FISH :

Among the fish frequenting our fresh waters are Atlantic salmon, sea-trout, brown trout, char, eels, pike, perch, bream, rudd and some less important varieties. Of these salmon, sea-trout, eels and brown trout are of the greatest economic significance, and with the exception of brown trout, are the subject of " commercial " fishing. The brown trout is a favourite quarry of the angling tourist in the lakes of the country and therein lies the great value of this fish. Pike and perch are coarse fish. They are regarded almost as vermin, and are not generally fished. They abound in the " limestone " lakes and rivers to the detriment of the trout stocks. Indeed, the balance of fish in the " limestone " lakes is rapidly going in favour of the coarse fish in view, among other reasons, of their almost complete immunity from the attentions of the great majority of anglers and the absence of any widespread attempts on the part of owners or fishery authorities to keep down their numbers. Immense numbers of pike, fierce, hungry, cannibalistic creatures, lie in ambush for the annual arrival of the migratory game-fish, and prey on them as well as on the non-migratory brown trout.

Every year millions of elvers enter our rivers on the " fresh-water " stage of their fantastic life-cycle. After a period of twelve to fifteen years guzzling and feeding on the roe and young fry of other fish with equal impartiality, they return thick and fat to the ocean ; then, spurred on by strange atavistic yearnings, they proceed with their mates to the Sargasso Sea and to the last act of their macabre career. During their return journey down the rivers to the sea a toll is taken of them in eel weirs and traps and a ready market is found for them in Britain.

SALMO SALAR :

By far the most important fish in the economy of our rivers is the Atlantic salmon. It has always been an important fish and there is much evidence to suggest that its presence in our rivers formed the economic mainstay of settlements on their banks in pre-historic times. The salmon's life begins in the river from which it migrates to the sea, returning later to the river of its birth for the propagation of its species. Its river life has been well documented, but the course of its wanderings when it leaves its native river has never been charted. What is known is the fact that after a period of one, two, three and sometimes four years in the sea, it returns in prime condition, many times weightier and fatter than when it departed from the fresh waters as a smolt.

The requirements of the salmon for the propagation of its kind are : an easy approach to its native river ; sufficient water to bring it along to the spawning beds ; no obstacles in the way of its passage upwards ; clean gravel in unpolluted water in which to deposit its spawn. To the

extent that these conditions are absent, spawning decreases, and the stock of salmon will diminish. Its spawning grounds are in the upper shallow reaches of every river and its tributaries, and it is mainly during its journey to these parts that the salmon lays itself open to capture by man.

The Atlantic salmon, that species which inhabits our inland waters, is, relatively speaking, a scarce fish. Its natural habitat is the North Atlantic and the rivers of the bordering lands of this ocean. Ireland is situated at, roughly, the centre of this habitat. More than any other country it possesses all the requirements for the mass propagation of this fish. Our consistent and relatively heavy rainfall, combined with the mild equable climate, make our rivers accessible and tolerable to the Atlantic salmon at all periods of the year. The rivers of Eastern Canada and America are too cold before the month of May and too warm during mid-summer to be tolerable for Atlantic salmon. Similarly the icebound rivers of Scandinavia, Iceland and Newfoundland prevent the ascent of salmon until the month of May, and in many cases until the month of June. On the other hand fresh run, spring salmon ascend the principal Irish rivers as early as January.

The extent of salmon runs anywhere is directly related to the percentage of potential ova (as represented by the numbers of pairs of adult fish entering a river), which ultimately shall reach the sea as healthy smolts. The rôle of the river itself in producing the food for the salmon fry is most important. An equable climate is essential to the growth of food animalculæ for the fry. It has been found in Norway and even in Eastern Canada that, owing to the scarcity of fish food in their rivers due to long severe winters, salmon fry have to remain four to five years in their native rivers and streams before reaching the migration stage. In Ireland it has been found that upwards of 97% of our salmon fry migrate in the first and second years of their lives in the river, and the small balance in the third year. This suggests that the rearing capacity of our rivers is at least twice that of the Norwegian and Eastern Canadian rivers.

II

Economic Significance of the Salmon :

The relative scarcity of the salmon, as a fish, enhances its value. There is a ready market for it over a large part of the world, especially in its fresh condition, or as "smoked." In the latter form it commands luxury prices in all the great centres of Europe and America. The average price to the producer of fresh salmon during the 1952 season in this country was 7s. 2d. per lb.

The economic history of the fish in Ireland may be gleaned from the Reports of the many Commissions of Enquiry, of which it was

the subject. Before the year 1925, Public Records for the capture of the fish all over the country were not systematically made. Sufficient is known, however, to indicate that the present runs of salmon in our rivers bear little relation to the size of the runs which obtained up to the middle of the last century—still less to what obtained in the end of the 18th century. When the Earl of Strafford arrived in this country as Viceroy for Charles I, he took into his own hands the fishery of the river Foyle and worked it for the Crown. In one year of his operations, this river produced 240 tons of salmon which sold at £15 per ton, or at the rate of 1.6 pence per pound. This was undoubtedly for the salted product. At the average 1952 price per pound to the producer that amount of salmon would value £201,600. As there are at least fifteen rivers, excluding the Shannon, in Ireland, which could be expected to equal the production of the Foyle and at least twenty smaller rivers which would give an average production of from one quarter or one half of that of the Foyle, while the Shannon could reasonably be expected to produce ten times as much, the value of their combined annual production would be between six and a half and seven and a half million pounds at present prices.

An additional element of value exists to-day which was non-existent in the Earl of Strafford's time, i.e., the tourist value of the rod and line angling. In view of the demand and the prices paid by anglers for first-class salmon angling to-day, the value of the rod and line fishing could well exceed that of the " commercial " catch. It must be understood also that the methods of capture in Strafford's time were not as efficient as those of a century and a half later, when the stake and bag nets came into operation in our salmon fisheries.

Introduction of Stake and Bag Nets :

Towards the end of the 18th century a new method for the capture of salmon was developed in Scotland, namely the stake net. These nets were fixed between high and low water mark at the estuaries, and leaders to seaward were utilised to guide the salmon into the nets. These were fixed engines. In Scotland they were quite legal, but in this country they were not only illegal under Common Law, but were expressly forbidden by an Act of Charles I. That, however, did not prevent their wholesale use here in the 19th century.

In his notable work *Emigration—The Answer* published in 1951 by Browne and Nolan Ltd., Dublin, Mr. J. P. Digby gives a vivid account of the killing power of these fixed engines. In describing their effect on the river Tweed he quotes the writer, Pennant, as stating that in 1776 there were in that river forty-one fisheries extending some fourteen miles from the mouth which were then rented at an aggregate of £5,400 per

annum. Twelve years later it was reported in the *Edinburgh Magazine* that to meet the expenses of fishing the Tweed and the rental, it was necessary to capture 280,000 salmon, exclusive of grilse and trout. It must be assumed that every effort was made by the renters to attain that target through the operation of the newly introduced stake nets.

The following table of catches on the Tweed at different periods of the nineteenth century gives eloquent testimony of the effect of unrestricted trapping of salmon in a river :—

River Tweed.

Period.	Average Annual Catch.		
	Salmon	*Grilse*	*Trout*
1807–1825 ...	34,159	65,072	43,384
1853–1858 ...	10,520	26,965	26,895
1858–1863 ...	9,141	15,456	28,841

It should be noted that the stake nets were in full operation on the Tweed for several years before 1807, and by that date had well reached the stage of diminishing returns. By 1863 the Tweed's production had fallen to 3% of the figures given in 1788 by Pennant for the production then considered necessary to pay rental and fishing expenses on the river.

By 1812 some Scottish fishery owners became convinced that the use of stake nets should be prohibited in the narrow confines of the river mouths, and they succeeded in getting legislation passed limiting their use to the sea approaches. Immediately following the passing of this legislation, however, the netsmen invented a new trap—the bag net. These nets could be anchored in the open sea on the known paths of salmon moving on to their home rivers. While not as effective individually as the stake nets, their greater numbers and the wider field available for exploitation produced the same results, so that the reduction of Scottish salmon stocks proceeded as before.

During the nineteenth century the economic consequences of three factors under a ruthless system of *laissez-faire* proved disastrous for the inland fisheries in Great Britain ; these were

1. The mounting tempo of industrialisation with its corollary of a rapidly growing urban population requiring cheap food.

2. The use of ice as a preservative for fish.

3. Greatly improved transport facilities through the use of steam as a motive power.

It can be readily understood that the larger, more widespread markets and enhanced prices for salmon which were among the consequences of these developments, further increased pressure on salmon stocks until it became so severe as to threaten the survival of the species. The death blow was given to salmon in many fine English and Scottish rivers by another by-product of industrialisation—pollution of rivers by untreated industrial waste. The many " dead " rivers seen in England and Scotland to-day provide striking proof of the folly of neglecting safeguards against river pollution.

With the exception of pollution, all the other elements which made for the destruction of the Scottish salmon fisheries were parallelled in Ireland—with this difference, that while some restraint was exercised in the privately owned Scottish fisheries, little or none was observed in this country, as both public and private rights of fishing existed in different parts of the same rivers here, and both interests vied with each other in despoiling the rivers.

FATE OF IRISH SALMON FISHERIES IN 19TH CENTURY :

Up to the beginning of the 19th century most river estuaries in Ireland were fished as a public right derived from *Magna Carta*. As already explained, that statute reinforced by an Act of Charles I, expressly forbade the use of fixed nets in these estuaries on the principle that they interfered with navigation. They were fished by working fishermen with drift nets, draft nets and snap nets, which required favourable weather for their successful operation. Unfavourable weather, which was fairly frequent, provided the opportunity for the escape of adequate stocks to the spawning beds : this secured the stability of the stock.

During the first decade of the 19th century, the stake nets made their appearance in Ireland, and later were followed by the bag nets. Despite their illegality, these nets were soon operating in every Irish estuary. Instead of being operated by the working fishermen, they were owned and operated by the landlords whose lands bordered the estuaries and adjoining seas. With a most cynical disregard for the law and the rights of others, these landlords were able to prevail on the British Parliament to give them the right to erect these fixed engines. The farce went even further when London fishmerchants claimed the right to use these nets in Irish rivers on the grounds that the fish caught in the stake nets did not ascend the rivers, but returned to the sea after their visit to the estuary ! that without the assistance of these " productive " nets the fish needs of the expanding London market could not be satisfied. No

doubt the latter proved to be the convincing argument. For many of these gentlemen, some of whom had never put foot in the country, were granted stake net sites in the best rivers.

Unrestricted slaughter of Irish salmon went on day and night for forty years during the seasons, until the rapid decline of the fisheries gave rise to unrest not only among the working fishermen, who were silenced by a " whiff of grapeshot " off Waterford harbour, but also among the landlords whose properties adjoined the upper fresh-waters, on whom the same methods could hardly be used.

Successive Commissions of Enquiry were held, and these were followed by Acts of Parliament in rapid order all aimed at reconciling the interests of the upper fresh-water proprietors with those of the net owners—all of which proved ineffectual.

The Reports of the Commissions of Enquiry are useful in so far as they provide testimony of the rapid and progressive decline of yield in all the rivers which came under review, while the Acts of Parliament did produce a few useful provisions which in the event probably saved many fisheries from becoming derelict ; the most important of these provisions was the " Queen's Gap " in 1863, in fixed weirs, and the weekly period of escape from net trapping which allowed a modicum of stock for spawning purposes. Another Act made provision for the establishment of Boards of Conservators who were given powers to provide protection during the close season. It should be noted that public records of catches were not made during the nineteenth century (such records were not, in fact, made until the year 1925). It is therefore necessary to rely on other sources for information regarding the size of catches. Enough can be gleaned, however, to show a steeper downward curve in the production of our salmon fisheries than occurred even on the Scottish rivers. Day, in his *British and Irish Salmonidae*, records that in 1877—some seventy years after the introduction of the fixed nets—the relative values of salmon catches in the two islands were as follows :—

England	...	...	£100,000
Scotland	...	...	£250,000
Ireland	...	...	£400,000

At this period the price of salmon was approximately 9d. per lb. This would indicate that in 1877 the volume of our salmon production was in excess of 10,600,000 lbs. At 1952 prices this production would value approximately £3,800,000 to the producer. The tourist value of the rod-fish caught could be expected to reach several millions more.

From 1877 to the turn of the century, salmon in this country became increasingly regarded as *ferae naturae*, to be taken by any possible means on their way up the rivers. The engines of capture increased, and the poacher became almost a figure of romance. At the end of the century,

another Commission of Enquiry was set up ; it set about its business in a workmanlike way, and reported in 1901. The Report expressed alarm at the deterioration of the fisheries, but apart from suggesting an annual recording of captures, left the matter as they found it. Meantime, the British Parliament passed the Agricultural and Technical Instruction Act (1899), which transferred the functions of the Fishery Commissioners to the new body set up by that Act. Inland Fisheries no longer meant anything of importance to the British Parliament—they had already allowed their own to become almost derelict and Britain was at the pinnacle of industrial prosperity.

In 1923, the Government of the Irish Free State established a Ministry of Fisheries, and the first result of this was a decision to compile reports of catches to be published every two years. In 1933 the Government appointed a Commission with the following terms of reference :—

> " To enquire into the salmon fisheries and freshwater fisheries of An Saorstat ; to investigate their modes of tenure, and the laws relating to their control and preservation, to report thereon, to recommend such steps as seem necessary or desirable in order to promote their development and increase their national utility."

It is well here to indicate the relative rateable values of salmon fisheries in this country and in Scotland at the time when this Commission was appointed.; it will show the steep downward curve in the case of this country's fisheries since 1877.

Valuation of salmon fisheries, 1933.

SCOTLAND ...	...	£100,000 (approx.)
IRELAND ...	...	£23,000 „

III

The Commission reported in May, 1935. It was a courageous Report which did not hesitate to blue-print an integral policy designed to restore our inland fisheries to full production. Its main provisions provided for the setting up of a Central Fishery Board in whom all commercial estuaries and weir salmon and trout fisheries would be vested ; for the abolition of private fishing for salmon and trout except by rod and line ; for the commercial trapping of salmon on rivers by weir only,—the National Weir,—by which the number of salmon entering a river could be ascertained, and a percentage, based on the total number, be allowed to enter the upper waters for rod and line sport and for propagation ;—measured propagation—aimed at progressively increasing the head of fish entering each river ; for the access to the fresh waters of all stocks of sea-trout for rod and line angling and propagation ; for the establishment of a Fishery Research College for the study of inland fish biology and fish food ; for the exercise by the proposed Board of

administrative and executive powers to do all work in connection with the management, protection and development of inland fisheries.

One member of the Commission dissented from the Majority Report. He expressed his dissent as follows :—

> " (1) That the proposals in question were, in my view, of a nature much more radical than the needs of the case demanded ;
>
> (2) That they were the outcome of a process of reasoning which, I feared, left too much latitude for speculative opinion, and did not sufficiently appreciate the need for acquiring *data* dispassionately collected ;
>
> (3) That they were not in accordance with the conclusions which could reasonably be drawn from the weight of evidence received ; that they were open to objection from the viewpoints of finance, engineering and biology."

As the dissenter in question happened to be the then head of the Fisheries Branch of the Department of Agriculture, it was probably natural that his views should influence the main issues in the legislation which followed (the Fisheries Act (1939)), rather than those of his colleagues in the Majority Report.

Dr. John Berry, F.R.S.E., the eminent English fishery biologist—well known for his work on the Hampshire Avon and other English and Scottish rivers, gave his views as follows on the Majority Report :—

> " Biologically I have found nothing in the Report to which any objection could be taken. The Commission have been at pains to emphasise the deplorable extent of our present ignorance of fresh-water biology and they rightly stress the need for further research. But all the assumptions which they have made are in accordance with our present knowledge, and they seem fair and broadminded with reference to all points where further data is required. In my opinion they have wisely avoided basing recommendations upon insecure premises, and have drawn up a general scheme of fishery development calculated to produce an industry of first importance in the national economy of Sáorstat Eireann."

If the dissentient had had the prior benefit of Dr. Berry's views, he could scarcely have committed himself so definitely against the findings of his colleagues. Furthermore, the scheme as outlined in the Majority Report has in fact been in successful operation on the River Shannon for more than ten years, and has suffered from none of the disabilities alleged against it in the last paragraph of the Note of Dissent quoted above.

Fisheries Act (1939) :

The Fisheries Act (1939) in fact changed little in the general structure of local fishery administration ; it kept in being the Boards of Conservators ; it made provision for the acquisition by the Minister for

Agriculture, on paying compensation, of certain " transferable fisheries," but the method provided for the purpose would bring joy to the heart of that renowned inventor of clumsy machinery, Heath Robinson. No attempt has yet been made—thirteen years after the passing of the Act—to acquire a " transferable " fishery. The clause providing for compensation is not only unwieldly but gives rise to dangers that the fishery, when taken over, may be almost divested of its capital stock by over-netting in the permitted interval between notification of the " appointed day " and the actual surrender of the fishery. Apart from the method of taking over " transferable " fisheries under the Act, there is no provision in it for the commercial operation of the fisheries, if and when acquired.

In January, 1948, Section 35 of the Act went into operation, the effect being to remove some sixty nets from the fresh waters, for which compensation is to be paid to the owners. This should result in a bigger spawning stock, with consequent better runs, the first of which should have occurred in the 1952 season ; it is bound to give better catches to the commercial fisheries in the estuaries, thereby increasing the compensation payable to the owners of such fisheries on acquisition.

The Fisheries Act (1939) fell very far short of the recommendations of the Inland Fisheries Commission, 1933–35. Its provisions are inadequate to solve the problems inherent in any attempt to bring our inland fisheries to the stage where they could play a significant part in the country's economy.

EXISTING PROBLEMS : THEIR SOLUTION

Apart from some minor cases of damage caused by creamery waste and untreated town sewage, our rivers, with the exception of the tidal stretch of the Liffey and the lower stretch of the Annamoe, remain relatively unpolluted. Nevertheless, the increase of industrial activity throughout the country—in itself a highly desirable and necessary development—brings with it the need for constant vigilance in order to avoid, in this country, the fate which overtook many of Britain's finest rivers in the 18th and 19th centuries, through the outflow of untreated noxious industrial waste. Only too late have the British Authorities realized their folly in neglecting the health of their rivers while there was yet time. In the case of river pollution, prevention is not only better than cure, it is also infinitely less costly. The policy of waiting to ascertain whether injury to a fishery will occur as a result of the inflow of any industrial waste must be abandoned in favour of a more active policy which will require prior proof that such waste is innocuous to fish life and food before release into any river or its tributaries.

Our large-scale drainage schemes pose some important fishery problems which require urgent attention, and if left unsolved may cause

grievous damage to fish life. Then there is the prospect in the immediate future of the erection of hydro-electric installations on a goodly number of our best salmon rivers. Are we to allow a similar fate to befall these rivers as that which virtually destroyed the Shannon as a salmon river?

The growth of industrial activity, drainage schemes, the harnessing of rivers for the production of electric energy, are not inconsistent with the development of flourishing inland fisheries, provided that adequate measures are taken in good time to prevent river pollution, to maintain spawning beds; to conserve and increase fish-food; to provide for the free passage of fish to the spawning beds, and of smolts to the sea.

There remains the most chronic of all our inland fishery problems—that which for a century and a half has been the greatest evil of our inland fisheries—over-trapping in the estuaries and tidal approaches. For the last decade, the average volume of salmon production in this country has been around two million lb. per annum. In 1950, the price of salmon was "decontrolled" in the British market, and being a relatively scarce fish, its price soared quickly to its "economic" limits, which was approximately double that of the controlled price. Price was always the principal factor in determining pressure on salmon stocks, and the years 1950, 1951, and 1952 provided no exception to this rule, for the number of licensed engines of capture on our inland fisheries increased to record heights during these years.

Experience has shown everywhere that such circumstances result in an increasing number of engines chasing a steadily decreasing head of fish, until the rivers ultimately become derelict of stock. Employment of working fishermen—at best only seasonal,—will become less and less remunerative until it finally becomes non-productive. Is there a solution to the problem of restoring our inland fisheries to the point when they can contribute their full share to the economy of the country? The Majority Report of the Inland Fisheries Commission, 1933–35, has pointed the way.

The basic principle for a successful solution has been well and succintly expressed by Dr. John Berry, F.R.S.E. :—

> "Each river-system must be regarded as a single unit, not only throughout its main course, but including the entire catchment area which supplies it with water and food for its fry, and also the estuary and adjoining coast along which its returning salmon find their way to the mouth."

Such unitary control necessarily includes the all important spawning beds—without which all else might prove vain—a matter not adequately covered in the proposals of the Majority Report of the 1933–35 Commission.

What is the best instrument to exercise that control and management in the public interest? Hardly a body corporate such as a State

Board, as suggested in the Majority Report of the Commission. The lack of flexibility which seems to be a uniform attribute of such bodies would be a serious handicap in dealing with problems so full of the rhythm of life as are found in our inland fisheries. A Government Department would be even less suitable. The most practical and appropriate body for the work of development would probably be a Public Company incorporated under the Companies' Act, which would be charged to acquire the ownership of the country's inland fisheries, to develop, manage, and exploit them in the national interest. In order to maintain over-all control in the public interest, the Government should hold more than half the share capital.

In regard to the method of acquisition of fisheries and compensation therefor, Sections 14 and 15 of the Shannon Fisheries Act, 1935, provide a useful precedent. Such a body would be best equipped to implement the blue print of development for inland fisheries devised in the Majority Report of the Inland Fisheries Commission, 1933–35.

Comhlucht Siuicre Eireann Teo. is a prototype of the kind of organisation required, which would have that flexibility required to implement the *minutiae* of development and commercial management. All the Authority—administrative and executive—which the Fisheries Commission envisaged for the proposed Inland Fisheries Board, should, of course, be vested in such a Company.

Naturally, such a proposal calls for a new Inland Fishery Act or an adequate amendment of the 1939 Act.

A necessary complement of this organisation would be a Fishery Biological Research Institute—which in time could be financed within the economy of the fisheries themselves.

Time for action is running out. Since the decontrol of salmon by the British Government in 1950, prices of the commodity have soared to such heights that the resulting greatly increased pressure on our small remaining stocks gives rise to the fear that they may be utterly wiped out before planned development and control comes into operation.

Consideration of space prevents me from dealing with the economic possibilities of our great brown trout resources. They are of great significance from the tourist point of view. At present our larger lakes cater for only a fraction of the number of angling tourists which they could accommodate if fully developed *à la* Loch Leven. The larger lakes will probably always be more valuable for sporting purposes than as purely commercial fisheries. Their cultivation as preserves should consist of careful and methodical trapping to remove coarse fish, such as pike and perch. If systematically developed for a number of years in this fashion, they could become, for this country, a tourist attraction of major importance.

James J. Davin

The Sun

BY H. A. BRÜCK, D.PHIL., PH.D.

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FOR some time now investigations of the Sun have formed one of the most active branches of modern astronomy. The present astronomical literature is full of papers which discuss the results of new methods of observation, the theory of such solar phenomena as sunspots, flares or radio-noise, and the influence of disturbances in the Sun's atmosphere on terrestrial phenomena. International scientific conferences, such as that arranged only a few months ago by the Italian Academy of the Lincei, are organised for the sole purpose of discussing present-day solar research.

The extraordinary importance of the Sun to astronomers is due to the fact that the Sun is a typical star—by star we mean a self-luminous body—which, being so much nearer to us than any other star, can be studied with incomparably greater accuracy. In fact, the Sun is the only star which is sufficiently close to us that we can see detail on its surface ; all other stars, even when observed through the most powerful telescopes available, appear as nothing more than luminous points. There is sufficient evidence at the same time that the great majority of these stars do not differ appreciably from the Sun as regards such properties as size, mass or chemical constitution. Anything we can find out about the Sun, therefore, will to a large extent apply also to most of the stars in our own and other galaxies.

In the Sun's case we are able to investigate not only a star's light and heat, but also its ultraviolet and radio radiation and the ejection of electrically charged clouds of gas. Unlike the Sun's light and heat, these latter radiations may undergo violent changes which in their turn may affect strongly the structure of our own terrestrial upper atmosphere. In so far as long-distance radio communication depends on conditions in this region of the atmosphere, solar studies become of considerable practical importance, and for this reason have been liberally supported by Governments in America, Britain and on the Continent.

From measurements of its distance and angular diameter we find that the Sun's actual diameter is about 860,000 miles or about 110 times that of the Earth. This is very much the size of an average star, though stars are known which are only about as large as the Earth, and others which are as much as five hundred times larger in diameter than the Sun, or sufficiently big, if placed in the centre of the solar system, to contain Jupiter's orbit.

The amount of matter contained within the Sun, or its mass, can be calculated from its gravitational attraction on the planets. It is found to be more than three hundred times the Earth's mass, a figure which again is of the same order as that for a normal star. With relatively few exceptions all stars have masses ranging from about one half to five times the solar mass. This small variation in stellar masses as compared with the variation in their sizes is an observation of considerable importance for the theory of stellar structure. It can be proved that condensations of matter of total mass less than about one hundredth that of the Sun cannot be self-luminous.

From the mass and size we find the mean density of the Sun to be about one quarter of that of the Earth or 40 per cent. higher than that of water. This mean density, however, gives no clue to the great variation in density within the Sun's interior. In the central regions matter is ten times more compact than iron, whereas in the outer layers it is highly rarified. The variation in density, temperature and other physical characteristics throughout the Sun is derived from purely theoretical investigations. The theory of the internal constitution of the stars was inaugurated by the late Sir Arthur Eddington. One of his many happy ideas was the realisation, fundamental for the theory, that matter in the interior of the stars can be considered to behave like a gas, and that the well-tested gas laws can be applied without reservation to such matter, in spite of the fact that extreme pressures may compress it to densities higher than the density of water or even that of solids. The justification for Eddington's assumption lies in the extreme temperatures which must prevail in stellar interiors and which disrupt atoms into their component parts—free ions and electrons—thereby reducing their size to a small fraction of their ordinary volume. Such ionised particles even at extreme densities have sufficient room to move about freely, as do atoms or molecules of a gas under ordinary conditions.

At this stage we may discuss what is known at present about the chemical composition of the matter of which the Sun is built. We cannot probe into the interior of the Sun, but we can solve the problem directly in the case of the Sun's visible atmosphere. It must be realised, however, that this observable region represents only a very thin layer containing not more than a few millionths of the Sun's total material.

This layer can be studied spectroscopically. The dark " Fraunhofer lines " which in large numbers—more than 20,000 have been listed—interrupt the continuous background of the solar spectrum, indicate directly, when compared with lines of terrestrial elements, produced in the laboratory, the presence of some 60 of the 90 chemical elements which we know on the Earth. Reasons can be given why the lines of the apparently absent elements are hardly likely to show up in the Sun's spectrum. In other words, we find in the solar atmosphere the same

chemical elements and no others which we have on the Earth, and we may add that exactly the same is true of other stars or any diffuse matter in the universe.

Whereas the qualitative discussion of the solar spectrum is a relatively easy problem, its quantitative analysis which leads to the determination of the relative abundance of the various elements in the Sun's atmosphere, is very complicated and only partly solved at present. However, it has become quite evident that by far the most abundant element must be hydrogen. At least eighty per cent. of all atoms in the solar atmosphere are hydrogen atoms, most of the rest helium atoms, only an insignificant fraction being assigned to other elements. There is, for example, about one metal atom to every 10,000 hydrogen atoms. The same preponderance of hydrogen seems to be characteristic of the chemical composition of the atmospheres of all normal stars.

The question of the chemical composition of the Sun as a whole enters into the fundamental equations of the theory of the Sun's internal constitution. Here the Sun is treated as a sphere of gas of known size and mass which is held together by its own gravitation and generates energy corresponding to the known amounts of light and heat which we receive. If the behaviour of such a sphere is calculated, it is found that the theoretical " model Sun " has all the attributes of the real Sun provided we assume a chemical composition very similar to the one observed directly in the solar atmosphere.

A detailed analysis of the model shows that the Sun is built in such a way that about one tenth of its mass is concentrated in a central core which is intensely hot and in which all the energy generation takes place. Surrounding this core is the main bulk of the Sun through which the generated energy is passed on to the outside unimpaired. The pressure at the Sun's centre is of the order of 100,000 million atmospheres which compresses the matter to a density of about 100 times that of water. The temperature is nearly twenty million degrees centigrade, which is sufficient for transmutations of atomic nuclei to become possible. In such nuclear reactions amounts of energy, incomparably greater than those involved in ordinary chemical reactions, are generally released, and it has become clear that the actual source of solar energy, that which makes the Sun and other stars shine and keeps them shining for long periods of time, is in fact provided by such subatomic processes in the deep stellar interiors.

In the case of the Sun and the majority of stars one particular type of nuclear transformation appears to be responsible for their energy generation, namely the transformation of hydrogen into helium within a chain of reactions which involves also carbon and nitrogen nuclei. This " Carbon-nitrogen-cycle," first proposed independently by Von Weizsäcker and Bethe just before the recent war, leads to the release

of enormous amounts of energy of the type with which we are now becoming familiar through the hydrogen bomb. The principle involved is that of the equivalence of mass and energy. In the transformation of four hydrogen nuclei into one helium nucleus a certain amount of mass is lost, corresponding to three per cent. of the mass of one hydrogen nucleus, and this is liberated in the form of radiation. How great this amount is, can be inferred from the fact that if the Sun originally consisted practically entirely of hydrogen, this process would suffice to maintain the present rate of radiation of the Sun for more than 100,000 million years, after which time the original hydrogen " fuel " would have become helium " ashes." Again if we assume, as is generally accepted, that the Sun has actually been radiating at its present rate for about 2,000 million years, its total loss of radiation during this period would have been covered by the conversion of less than two per cent. of its hydrogen into helium.

The carbon-nitrogen-cycle becomes operative only at a certain high temperature and remains effective only over a small range of temperature. This means that, as has been said before, the generation of energy inside the Sun is confined to its central intensely hot core in which convection currents keep the matter thoroughly mixed and more or less of equal temperature. Outside this central core there is no further generation of energy, but the gases in the surrounding region are capable of transporting the energy from the centre to the surface without loss and without rising upwards themselves ; the energy is passed on in the course of innumerable absorption and re-emission processes. Convection currents become prominent again only very close to the Sun's surface, where, at a depth of about 500 miles, the temperature falls from twenty to ten thousand degrees. At this temperature hydrogen ions begin picking up their lost electrons, and this leads to instability and results in clouds of hot gas rising from this " convection zone " to the visible surface where we observe them in the form of " granulation."

The visible part of the Sun, called the " photosphere," extends downwards only to a depth of about 200 miles. The average temperature in the photosphere is about 5,700 degrees and the average pressure about a hundredth of an atmosphere. At the Sun's surface, that is at the top of the photosphere, the temperature has fallen to just under 5,000 degrees.

It is rather astonishing that we cannot look into the Sun to a depth greater than 200 miles even though the gases in this region are at a pressure far below that of our own atmosphere. The puzzle of the opaqueness of the photosphere was solved by Wildt not many years ago. He found it to be due to the formation of negative hydrogen ions by the combination of neutral hydrogen atoms with electrons torn from metal ions. In spite of the fact, mentioned earlier, that there is only one metal

atom to every 10,000 hydrogen atoms in the Sun's atmosphere, nevertheless the result of this " contamination " is capable of transforming an otherwise completely transparent gas of pure hydrogen into a completely opaque screen.

With the photosphere we have now reached the visible surface of the Sun and we can pass on to the discussion of the various phenomena which can actually be observed on the solar disc. The fact that we can speak of a disc at all with a sharp edge, is in itself a result of the thinness of the photosphere which at the distance of the Sun subtends such a small angle (a fraction of a second of an arc) that it produces the appearance of a perfectly sharp edge.

The two most notable features which can always be observed on any good photograph of the Sun, are the decrease in brightness from centre to edge and the granular structure of the surface. The granules, each about 500 miles in diameter, but rapidly fluctuating in appearance and lasting individually only a matter of minutes, are identical with clouds of hot gas which we have described as rising from the convection zone.

The so-called " limb-darkening," more pronounced in blue than in red light, is due to the fact that at the edge of the Sun we look obliquely into the photosphere and therefore cannot see down to the same depth which we can reach in the centre. The layers which we see at the limb, are the higher, cooler levels which send out less and rather more reddish light than the deeper hotter regions visible at the centre. Investigations of limb-darkening, therefore, are of value to the study of the change of temperature with depth within the photosphere.

Both limb-darkening and granulation are permanent features of the Sun. Most conspicuous among temporary solar phenomena are the sunspots which can be of all sizes, the smallest ones detectable with good instruments under suitable atmospheric conditions having an area of about the size of Ireland, while the very largest cover areas many times that of the surface of the Earth. These latter are visible to the naked eye, and there are records which show that sunspots were familiar to the ancient Chinese astronomers.

The first systematic study of sunspots began with the invention of the telescope and is linked with the names of Galileo and Father Scheiner, S.J. The latter is responsible for a famous compendium on sunspots, the *Rosa Ursina*, which he published in 1635. The early observations established already the fact that spots cross the surface of the Sun from edge to edge within about a fortnight, and from this Galileo correctly concluded that the Sun rotates on its axis once in about four weeks. Father Scheiner noticed further that the Sun does not rotate as a rigid body, but that spots in higher latitudes travel considerably more slowly than those nearer the Sun's equator. This fact which undoubtedly

must be reckoned with in any detailed theory of the structure of the Sun, has so far not been satisfactorily explained.

Sunspots are temporary phenomena. Most of them last only a few days, some a few weeks and only the very largest ones a month or more. They become visible quite suddenly and often grow so rapidly that they increase their area a hundredfold within a single day. They usually occur in pairs, and often numbers of small spots are grouped around a main pair.

The blackness of sunspots and especially of their central core, the "umbra," is an effect of contrast with the great brilliance of the surrounding photosphere. If isolated, they would appear brighter than an electric arc, sending out about forty per cent. of the light of an area of equal size of the normal Sun. From measurements of their brightness one finds that matter within the spots must be about one or two thousand degrees cooler than in their neighbourhood, that means the temperature must be about 4,500 degrees.

While the place and time of the birth and decay of individual spots is largely unpredictable, the overall "spottiness" of the Sun varies fairly regularly in the course of time following the well-known 11 year sunspot cycle. Whereas weekly and even monthly averages of spotnumbers show hardly any regularity, annual numbers reveal very clearly the existence of years of sunspot minimum and maximum. Successive maxima or minima are separated by periods of about eleven years. This periodicity, first discovered about a hundred years ago by Schwabe, has been traced back by means of early records to 1749. The overall number of sunspots and the proportion of giant spots may vary considerably from one maximum to the next. The highest maximum on record occurred in 1778 followed very closely by the most recent maximum of 1947.

The eleven year cycle shows up not only in the numbers of spots, but also in their distribution on the Sun's disc, where at the beginning of a cycle spots appear only in high solar latitudes and drift towards a belt near the equator according as the cycle peters out.

So far we have discussed only the properties of spots which are revealed by straightforward visual or photographic observation. The spectroscopic analysis of their light confirms the lower temperature of spots by the presence of spectral lines due to chemical compounds such as titanium oxide or calcium hydride which at the higher temperature of the surrounding photosphere are dissociated into their component atoms.

By far the most significant feature of spot spectra is the broadening or splitting up of many of their dark lines. This behaviour is identical with that of spectral lines in the laboratory whose light source is surrounded by a magnetic field. In exhibiting this "Zeeman Effect" sunspots are recognised to be the centres of magnetic fields which in the

case of large spots may be many thousand times as powerful as the magnetic field of the Earth. Spots making up a pair have usually magnetic fields of opposite polarity like the north and south poles of a magnet. There exist furthermore some curious relationships between the polarities of corresponding spots in the two solar hemispheres which are also linked up with the eleven year solar cycle.

No theory has yet been developed which can explain all the observed features of sunspots. However, it seems clear that they represent only the visible effects of some deep-seated disturbances in the interior of the Sun, and that they are connected with extended vortices of circulating gases which persist underneath the visible surface of the Sun. The darkness of spots is undoubtedly due to the fact that within them masses of gas surge upwards and cool in the process of expansion. The origin of their magnetic fields remains their greatest mystery. An attractive and widely accepted theory proposed by the Swedish astronomer Alfvén according to which the magnetism of spots is linked up with a general magnetic field of the whole Sun, may have to be discarded in view of the most recent measurements which show the Sun's general field to be practically negligible.

New aspects of sunspots come to light when we observe the Sun through certain monochromatic colour filters which for instance, allow only a particular radiation emitted by hydrogen atoms to pass through. Regular continuous observation of the Sun through instruments provided with filters of this kind is now being carried out at many solar observatories, and as a result our knowledge of temporary solar phenomena has immensely increased. Monochromatic pictures of the Sun, sometimes called " spectroheliograms " after an early type of filter which involved a spectrograph, show a great amount of intricate and complex structure which on ordinary photographs, taken in " mixed " white light, gets lost completely.

Sunspots in particular appear as centres of large cyclones, similar to the cyclones in our terrestrial atmosphere, but immeasurably larger. Above spots " bright flocculi " or hot clouds of gas are found which, when observed sufficiently long, may be seen to flash up occasionally to great brilliance. These " solar eruptions " or " flares " are shortlived, lasting at their brightest only a matter of minutes, but are amongst the most striking sights in observational astronomy. They also play a most important rôle in the field of solar and terrestrial relationships. It is possible that flares are caused by intense heating of solar gases as a result of powerful electric currents which are generated by changes in the magnetic fields of growing or decaying spots. During the outbreak of a flare large amounts of ultraviolet radiation as well as streams of ionised gas are ejected and give rise to various terrestrial phenomena which will be described later.

Other instances of storms in the solar atmosphere are the prominences, luminous clouds of gas which are observed on spectroheliograms or more directly during total eclipses of the Sun to protrude like reddish tongues of light from the solar limb. Like spots prominences are transient features. Some of them display violent whirling motions during which they may be wrenched completely away from the Sun. Such eruptive prominences rise with speeds of hundreds of miles per second, and at least one has been observed which reached a height of 600,000 miles above the Sun within an hour. Their movements have been demonstrated very beautifully on special films which have been taken through monochromatic filters and which have been accelerated several hundred times so that a whole day's course of a prominence can be watched within a minute. From such films it has become evident that, though part of the prominence material flies away into space, most of it returns eventually to the Sun.

The prominences rise from a very tenuous layer of the Sun's atmosphere which lies just above the photosphere. This " chromosphere " is so tenuous that it has practically no effect on the outflowing radiation, and only under exceptional atmospheric conditions can it be discovered at the Sun's edge. The gases in the chromosphere are in a state of violent agitation ; the chromosphere looks like " a burning prairie " to use the very apt description, applied to it as far back as eighty years ago by the great Jesuit astronomer Father Secchi, one of the founders of modern observational astrophysics.

The existence of the chromosphere becomes obvious only during total solar eclipses when the Moon covers up the main body of the Sun. At the instant of totality the chromosphere flashes out to remain visible for a few seconds at the very beginning and at the every end of the total phase. Its very characteristic " flash-spectrum " is still the subject of much discussion, and its observation has once again been the programme of several eclipse expeditions, amongst them the Irish one, at the recent eclipse of February, 1952. The chief point still at issue is the chromospheric temperature which according to some estimates may be of the order of 30,000 degrees, much higher than that of the solar surface.

This extraordinary phenomenon of a " temperature inversion " is even more pronounced in the case of the solar corona, the outermost region of the Sun's atmosphere. The corona extends to several times the Sun's radius ; its appearance is dominated by long jet-like streamers and delicate arches which are responsible for the beautiful spectacle of total solar eclipses. The coronal light is so faint, about one millionth that of the Sun, that up till quite recently it could not be seen at all outside total eclipses. Thanks to some brilliant experimental work by the late Bernard Lyot of Paris Observatory, at least the inner, brighter part

of the corona can now be observed at all times, and changes in its structure can be recorded.

Most of its light is nothing but sunlight scattered by the two constituents of the corona, a highly rarified and ionised gas and a cloud of dust of the same composition as we find it in interstellar space. The inner corona also emits light which is produced by metal atoms which, in the case of iron, have lost as many as half of their electrons. This is the curious spectrum which at one time was ascribed to an unknown element " coronium." Its correct interpretation by a Swedish physicist, Edlén, has been hailed as one of the greatest triumphs of modern spectroscopy.

These very unusual conditions can only be explained by the assumption that the rarified coronal gases must be extremely hot, at a temperature of the order of a million degrees. Such a high temperature may be caused partly by the effects of magnetic and electric fields connected with the fields of sunspots, and partly by interstellar matter falling into the Sun and transferring its energy of motion into heat.

The discovery of the high coronal temperature has supplied the answer to the problem of the source of the Sun's radio emission. The Sun is known to emit continuously in addition to light and heat a certain amount of radiation in radio frequencies, the so-called " radio noise." This radio noise is emitted in quantities far in excess of what could be expected from a radiating body at a temperature of 6,000 degrees, the temperature of the Sun's photosphere. The corona is sufficiently hot to explain the anomaly. In addition to the Sun's continuous radio radiation occasional shortlived bursts are also found which coincide with the appearance of intense flares on the Sun's surface. In recent years, therefore, the new science of radio astronomy has become of ever increasing importance to the solar physicist.

The high temperature of the corona is also responsible for the emission of large amounts of ultra-violet light which, however, on account of the absorbing qualities of our atmosphere, do not reach the Earth's surface and are thus not directly observable. This radiation, however, electrifies the upper layers of the atmosphere, producing the " ionosphere," whose existence is of paramount importance for long-distance radio communication. Radio waves, directed upwards from a transmitter at a suitable angle of elevation, are reflected downwards to distant parts of the Earth by this " radio ceiling," which is situated at a height of about 200 miles above the Earth's surface.

Since the intensity of the ultra-violet radiation of the corona is linked up with sunspot activity, variations in the structure and behaviour of the ionosphere can be expected and are in fact well know. In years of sunspot maximum many " ionospheric storms " are recorded which are

revealed by wireless fade-outs which may make long-distance communication for certain periods of time next to impossible.

This is an example of relationships between solar and terrestrial phenomena. The first correlation of this sort was discovered nearly a hundred years ago when it was found that disturbances in the Earth's magnetic field were closely connected with the abundance of sunspots. In particular " magnetic storms," that is violent magnetic disturbances during which a compass needle may change its direction for a day or two through angles of ten degrees or more, are most frequent in years of sunspot maximum. Another close correlation exists between sunspots and the appearance of aurorae which are most frequently observed in years of sunspot maximum.

These statistical correlations break down, however, when it comes to the question of the effects of invidual sunspots. Even exceptionally large spots are not necessarily followed by any magnetic or ionospheric disturbances. It has recently become clear that it is not so much the spots themselves, but the flares which occasionally flash up in spot regions, which are responsible for terrestrial disturbances. Careful observations have shown that at the exact moment of the appearance of a flare a radio fade-out in the short-wave length range occurs together with a magnetic disturbance with a characteristically sudden commencement. These disturbances may last for a few hours though the flare itself normally dies down within an hour. If the flare happens near the central part of the Sun, then a much more violent magnetic disturbance and a corresponding heavy fade-out are usually recorded about a day later. These latter effects which may last as long as two full days, are often accompanied by the appearance of the Aurora Borealis and Australis.

Most of these and other phenomena can be explained by the assumption, mentioned earlier, that at the outbreak of a solar flare a burst of extra ultra-violet radiation is emitted from the disturbed area of the Sun and also a radial jet of ionised gas. The ultra-violet radiation, travelling with the speed of light, reaches us at the instant at which we see the flare, whereas the stream of gas, travelling at the rate of about 1,000 miles a second, takes about a day to get here. Both the radiation and the gas affect the ionosphere, in different ways, but with similar results. The ultra-violet radiation has effect only on the sunlit regions of the Earth, whereas the effects of the gas streams is most strongly felt in higher latitudes. It is the influence of the Earth's magnetic field on the electrically charged particles of the streams, which deflects them to the polar regions where we get visible evidence of them in the form of the Aurora.

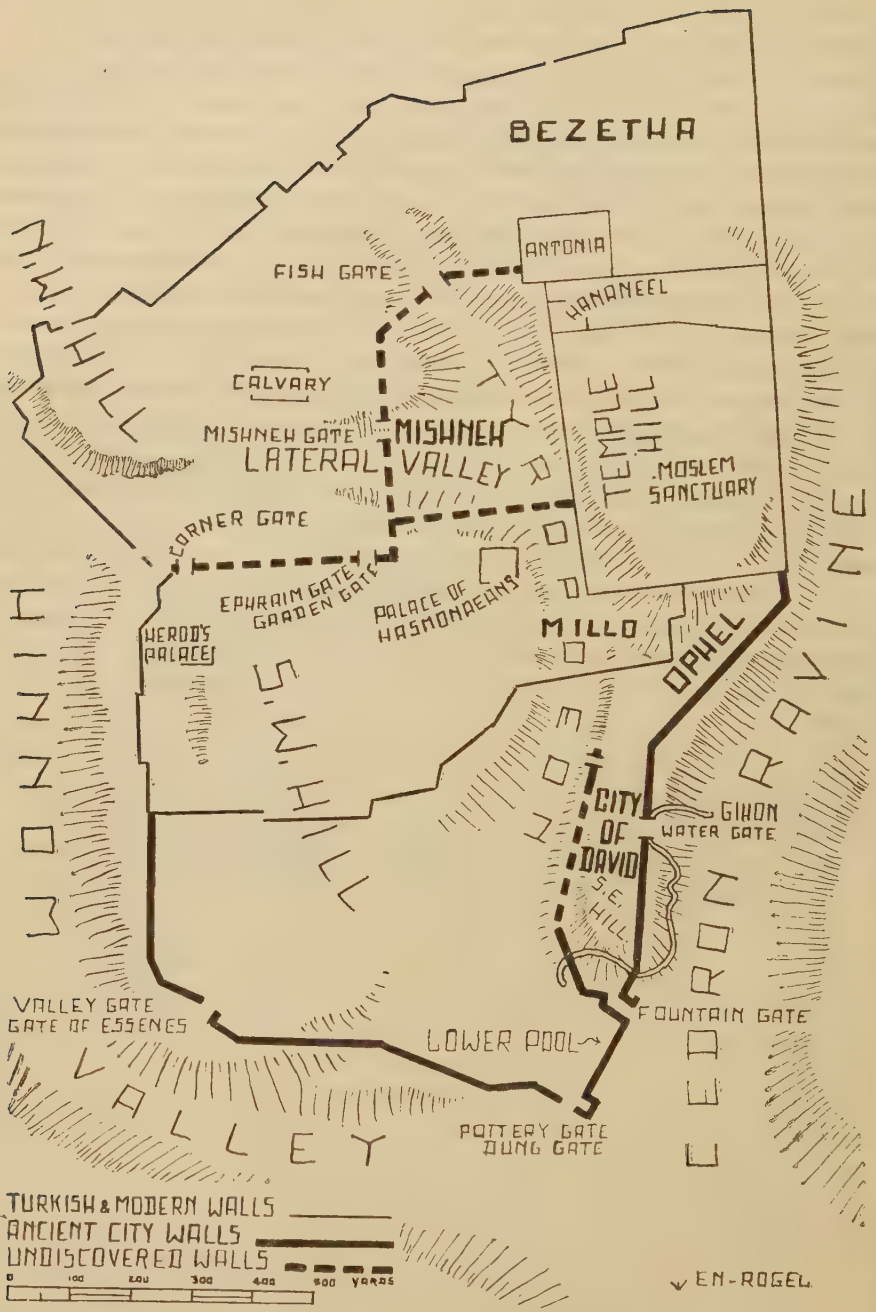
Apart from these solar-terrestrial relationships which are now fairly well established, many others have been claimed. Correlations have been looked for between sunspots and meteorological conditions such

as average annual rainfall or temperature. However, since the incoming particles and ultra-violet radiation are all absorbed already in our upper atmosphere and do not penetrate into those lower regions where our weather is made, no straightforward correlations are likely to exist. Many apparent correlations have turned out to be spurious. An example is provided by the levels of certain large lakes in Central Africa, such as Lake Victoria, which, being fed by water from rainfalls over a wide area, would appear to be ideal raingauges for the measurement of average rainfalls. Observations between 1900 and 1920 showed that the level of the lake varied with the sunspot cycle, being about one metre higher in years of sunspot maximum than in years of sunspot minimum. However, when observations were extended to another sunspotcycle, the correlation was found to hold no longer, which may serve as an example of the dangers of trying to establish periodicities on insufficient evidence.

A rather amusing indirect correlation between sunspots and weather is given by the annual growth of trees. Taking the widths of their annual rings as a measure of their annual growth, one finds from cross-sections of certain conifers that the widths show an eleven year periodicity. Widths can be two or three times greater in years of sunspot maximum than in years of sunspot minimum. In the case of certain old Californian trees the periodicity has been traced back over several hundred years, and variations in the length of the period shown by spot observations, have been found reflected in the ring widths.

Attempts have been made to establish similar correlations between sunspots and innumerable other phenomena such as the abundance of crops, the quality of vintages, the population of animals, and even the human behaviour as reflected in mass movements throughout history ! It need hardly be said that such apparent correlations are based on most slender evidence and should be relegated to the realm of the astrologer !

H. A. Brück


BEZETHA
ANTONIA
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FISH GATE
CALVARY
MISHNEH GATE
MISHNEH
LATERAL
VALLEY
TEMPLE HILL
MOSLEM SANCTUARY
CORNER GATE
EPHRAIM GATE
GARDEN GATE
PALACE OF HASMONAEANS
HEROD'S PALACE
MILLO
OPHEL
W. HILL
E. HILL
CITY OF DAVID
S.E. HILL
GIHON WATER GATE
KIDRON VALLEY
HINNOM VALLEY
VALLEY GATE
GATE OF ESSENES
LOWER POOL
FOUNTAIN GATE
POTTERY GATE
DUNG GATE
TURKISH & MODERN WALLS
ANCIENT CITY WALLS
UNDISCOVERED WALLS
0 100 200 300 400 500 YARDS
EN-ROGEL

Jerusalem in the Old Testament

by EDMOND POWER, S.J.

LESS than a century ago our knowledge of Ancient Jerusalem was derived exclusively from literary sources, in particular the Old Testament and the works of Flavius Josephus. An erroneous localization of the original nucleus of the Judæan capital, the old Canaanite city which David captured, was accepted by all on the authority of the Jewish historian. As long as this fundamental error prevailed many scriptural references to various parts of the city could not be correctly interpreted, and all attempts at a scientific topography of Jerusalem were doomed to failure. Excavations were needed to discover the site of the city of David and determine the various stages of its subsequent development.

Diggings at Jerusalem were begun by Sir Charles Wilson in 1864, and have continued at intervals down to the present day. Their invaluable contributions to our knowledge of the holy city have been recorded and discussed in various learned publications, but no comprehensive study of Jerusalem has appeared for several decades.[1] We needed a critical synthesis of the results obtained from all sources of information, literary as well as archaeological, and a full discussion of suggested solutions or methods of solution of problems still unsolved. This need has now been supplied by Dr. J. Simons, S.J., in a magnificent quarto volume entitled *Jerusalem in the Old Testament*, and superbly edited in 1952 by the publishing firm of E. J. Brill, Leyden. It is a sequel to his well known work on Palestinian excavations, *Opgravingen in Palestina* (Roermond, 1935). Much of it was written during a long stay at Jerusalem after the second World War where personal observation, indispensable in topographical studies, supplemented the knowledge derived from other sources. In this volume of over 500 pages richly illustrated by maps, plans and photographs, Dr. Simons gives us a fascinating picture of the growth of our knowledge of Jerusalem. Basing ourselves on his work we shall try to give some account of the original site and gradual development of the city. First however we must indicate briefly the value of our sources of information and describe the physical configuration of the region in which the city was built.

The Old Testament is our most valuable source of information. It gives us the historical framework into which the discoveries of the excavators must be fitted and enables us at times to check too hasty conclusions. Nehemias is particularly helpful in giving us three separate

[1] There is however a long article on Jerusalem from the pen of Rev. L. H. Vincent O.P., a leading authority, in the *Supplément* to the *Dictionnáire de la Bible*, Vol. IV (1949) col. 898-966.

though incomplete accounts of the walls of the pre-exilic city which he inspected, rebuilt and dedicated (2 Esdras ch. 2, 3 and 12). The allusions to various parts of Jerusalem in the historical and prophetical books are sometimes definite enough to authorize topographical conclusions but more often laconic and obscure. The authors had in mind not future generations but their own contemporaries who had no need like us of detailed information on such matters.

Josephus is a good authority on the city which he himself knew, but not so reliable in his references to its earlier history. His most valuable contributions to our knowledge are his descriptions of Herod's temple and of the walls of Jerusalem at various periods. When he was born at Jerusalem in 37 A.D. the second northern wall still enclosed the city but was replaced a few years later by the third northern wall of King Agrippa. He is chiefly responsible on the other hand for the erroneous localisation of the City of David so long a stumbling-block to research.

The chief excavations at Jerusalem during the last century are the following : Wilson's Survey of the Turkish City in 1864 ; Warren's exploration of the walls of the Mohammedan Sanctuary from outside, 1867-1870 ; Guthe's quest for a valley between the Temple hill and the S.E. hill, 1881 ; Bliss and Dickie's discovery of two south city walls, 1894-1897 ; Parker and Vincent's exploration of the tunnels and aqueducts on the S.E. hill, 1909-1911 ; Weill's two diggings in the southern part of the S.E. hill, 1913-1914 and 1923-1924 ; Macalister and Duncan's quest for the northern wall of the Canaanite City, 1923-1925 ; Sukenik and Mayer's exploration of a northern city wall over-hastily identified with the Third Wall of Josephus, 1925-1927 ; Crowfoot and FitzGerald's excavations in the Tyropoeon Valley, 1927-1928 ; John's excavations in the Citadel at the Jaffa Gate, 1934-1940. The chief centre of interest is the S.E. hill, the site of the ancient Canaanite city, now a region of gardens, outside the modern city walls.

The results of all these excavations will appear meagre if we fail to realise the difficulties under which the excavators laboured. In the first place Jerusalem is not a mound or heap of ruins but a still inhabited area where all existing buildings must be respected. The whole temple hill in particular is a Mohammedan sanctuary which cannot he desecrated by digging. The city has been destroyed and rebuilt so many times that few vestiges of antiquity have been left in their original sites. Discoveries made in the inhabited area are usually accidental when old buildings are demolished and new ones erected. It is fortunate, however, that the city moved northwards in the course of its history so that a considerable part of the ancient city outside the modern south wall is now an uninhabited area. Here excavators have been able to work freely and have made their most important discoveries. In the second place the most important excavations at Jerusalem were made at an early period

before the excavator's technique had been fully developed. Modern excavators try above all to secure all possible historical information by carefully distinguishing the different levels of occupation. They resort to surface stripping when possible and, above all, diligently record the pottery discovered at the various levels which is indispensable for dating. At Jerusalem for the most part the old method of shaft and tunnel has been used and pottery has been ignored. Hence many discoveries cannot be dated even approximately, since architectural criteria are quite inadequate for that purpose.

The Hebrew city of Jerusalem which succeeded the Canaanite fortress of Urushalima was built on two ranges of hills running north and south and separated by a deep valley. This valley, called by Josephus the valley of the Tyropoeon or Cheesemakers, has been largely filled up in course of time and was originally at least thirty and more often sixty or seventy feet deeper than it is at present. As its Old Testament name is uncertain, we shall call it the Central Valley. Three separate hills can be distinguished in the eastern range. The most northerly called Bezetha was not part of the city in Old Testament times. It was originally separated from the Central or Temple hill by the small valley of St. Anne which has long been filled up and disappeared. The central hill is now a vast walled enclosure, the Mohammedan sanctuary of Haram esh-Sharif. Here, too, were the temples of Herod, of the returned exiles and of Solomon. Nowhere else do we find vast substructures providing the extended level surface on which these sacred edifices were built. The S.E. hill is the smallest as well as the lowest of all the hills of Jerusalem. It is united to the Temple hill by a narrow ridge on the east side but separated from it towards the west by a depression rather than a valley. It might be roughly likened to a triangle with its apex in the south and its base in the north. On its eastern slope and practically equidistant from its apex in the south and the Haram wall in the north is the Spring of the Steps, called Gihon in the Old Testament, ancient Jerusalem's chief water supply. The only other spring in the immediate neighbourhood of the city, En Rogel, the spring of the Fuller, now called Job's Well, is about 300 yards south of this hill. The western range contains two hills separated by a valley usually called the Lateral Valley which has now practically disappeared, but was originally nearly as deep as the Central Valley. It runs directly from the Jaffa Gate to the western wall of the Haram. An isthmus about fifty feet long in the middle of the valley connected the two hills. The southern hill, the Mount Sion of early Christian tradition, is the largest, the levellest and the highest of all the hills of Jerusalem, and is enclosed by valleys on all four sides. The northern hill long remained a region of gardens. Only in the late pre-exilic period was its eastern part enclosed by a city wall and called Mishneh or Second City. A conspicuous feature of this hill is a small

eminence near its centre, Golgatha or Calvary, the traditional site of the crucifixion, burial and resurrection of Our Lord. The two ranges of hills are still surrounded by valleys on three sides. Along the whole eastern side is the Nahal Cedron, on the south and west as far as the Jaffa Gate is the Ge Hinnom. The difference between Nahal and Ge is that the former has but the latter has not a gully at the bottom. At the eastern end of the Ge Hinnom was a place called Tophet where children were offered as holocausts to Moloch. Hence the use of Gehenna, a place of burning, as a name for hell at a later period.

Jerusalem is known to us as a Canaanite city from Egyptian inscriptions of the 19th cent. B.C., and also from the Tell el-Amarna tablets a century before the Hebrew invasion of Canaan. Its name Urushalima most probably means foundation of (the Canaanite god) Shalim. The first requisite therefore in locating the original settlement is to know what a Canaanite city was like and thus determine the reasons which impelled Canaanite builders at Jerusalem to choose a particular site. Excavations in Palestine during the last half-century have given us abundant information on this point. Canaanite cities were chiefly intended as places of refuge from the attacks of enemies. Most of their inhabitants dwelt normally in the countryside which they cultivated. The cities were walled and strongly fortified and surprisingly small in area, usually from six to twelve acres, so that they could be more easily defended. For the same reason they were built on hills, sometimes isolated, sometimes spurs of larger neighbouring hills. It was no disadvantage to the city hill to be dominated by its neighbour owing to the limited range of offensive weapons in the Canaanite period. Finally, they usually had a spring in their immediate vicinity to secure a water supply in time of siege. When the spring was at too low a level to be enclosed by the city walls a subterranean passage frequently connected the city on the hill top with the spring underneath. These considerations clearly forbid us to locate Canaanite Jerusalem on the S.W. hill. It would there be about 70 acres in extent, too large to be easily defended, and would moreover have no water supply. The S.E. hill on the other hand could accommodate a city of seven or eight acres, larger than Gibeah, Saul's capital, or Jericho in the time of Josue and almost as large as Tell Beit-Mirsim, the ancient Qiryath-Sepher, which was eight acres in extent and contained about 300 houses. It was strongly defended by deep valleys except on the short northern side and had a perennial water supply in the Gihon spring. Here moreover as at Gezer, Megiddo, Gabaon and Rabbath-Ammon, the spring and the hill top were connected by a tunnel. When the existence and function of these Canaanite tunnels became known the site of the original settlement on the S.E. hill could no longer be doubted. The accuracy of a biblical text, 2 Par. 32 : 30, is thus vindicated. " Ezechias stopped the waters of the Upper Gihon and brought them to the west

side of the city of David." The Canaanite Sion, renamed City of David, must be located on the S.E. hill if the outlet of the tunnel of Ezechias in the Central Valley was on its west side.

The Canaanite city was about 380 yards long and at most 110 yards wide. The exact site of the northern wall is still unknown. Much of the eastern wall however has been traced. A northern section of it discovered by Macalister and Duncan is dated by Canaanite pottery. A southern section unearthed by Weill reveals the strength of the ancient defence works. The upper wall on the edge of the hill is supported by parallel walls and bastions built on successive rock levels down the slope. We can understand the boast of the Jebusites to David that the blind and the lame could defend their city. Only a small section of the western wall at its southern end was laid bare by Weill. Towards its northern end however a gate with adjoining wall sections was discovered by Crowfoot, not at the top but on the side of the hill where after a steep descent the slope becomes gradual. Unfortunately, the periodical clearance of rubble from the gateway has removed all pottery indications of date. There is no doubt that the gate is pre-Roman, but no certainty that it is even pre-exilic. It is important however as an archaeological proof of a separate circumvallation of the S.E. hill. Two other gates were discovered, the Water Gate, directly above the Gihon spring, and the Fountain Gate at the southern end of the hill due north of En Rogel from which it took its name. We owe the names of these gates to Nehemias who also informs us that steps descended from the city of David through the Fountain Gate (2 Esdras 3 : 15 ; 12 : 35-36). These steps descending from the hill through a postern gate are one of Weill's most notable discoveries. Some remarkable tombs near the south end of the hill may have been part of the royal necropolis in the city of David. The tombs were empty when discovered and their probable continuation to the north had unfortunately disappeared in a Roman quarry.

The tunnels in the S.E. hill explored by Parker and Vincent had for their object to secure access to or possession of the waters of Gihon in time of siege. Three of them, used at different periods, are mentioned in the Old Testament. The earliest of these conveyed the waters of the spring into a cave in the interior of the hill where they could be reached from the city above by an underground passage. Existing buildings prevented the exploration of the upper part of this passage so that we do not know whether its exit was just inside or just outside the Water Gate. The explored part consists mainly of two vertical shafts connected by a long corridor. Vessels could be lowered by ropes through the lower shaft which reached the water level. This Canaanite waterway is generally believed to be the *sinnor* mentioned in 2 Kings 5 : 8 in a description of David's capture of the city. The text is unfortunately corrupt. The first part of a proclamation of David : " Whoever smites

the Jebusite and attains the sinnor (or possibly attains the city through the sinnor) " ends abruptly. The apodosis containing apparently the promise of a reward is missing. If the exit of the sinnor was within the city, Vincent's interpretation must be accepted according to which the city was captured by a surprise entry through the sinnor. If on the other hand the exit was outside the city gate, we must suppose with Simons that Joab smote the Jebusite guards and seized the sinnor thus depriving the city of its indispensable water supply. Simons' rendering of the text is preferable, but Vincent's location of the exit of the sinnor is more probable.

The second tunnel to be considered had for its object to introduce the waters of Gihon into the city at a time when the southern part of the Central Valley was included within its walls. An open-air canal, usually attributed to Solomon, ran southwards from the spring along the eastern slope of the hill to irrigate the gardens in the valleys east and south of the city. Its waters however were subsequently conveyed by a tunnel under the apex of the hill to the southern end of the Central Valley, the modern Birket el-Hamra. It was at the original exit of this canal on the east side of the hill, according to Vincent, that Isaias was ordered by God to meet Achaz on the occasion of the Emmanuel prophecy (Is. 7 : 3). About the same time the prophet, predicting the invasion of Sennacherib, contrasts the gently flowing waters of the same canal (hebr. shiloah, Vulgate Siloe), symbol of the divine protection which the people rejected, with the turbulent waters of the Euphrates, symbol of the Assyrian protection which the people chose and which would eventually overwhelm them (Is. 8 : 6). In a third prophecy which is much later but cannot be exactly dated, the underground continuation of this canal seems to be clearly indicated. Isaias now reminds the people of the various measures which they have taken to protect the city from foreign invasion and condemns them all as useless because they were unaccompanied by trust in God and recourse to divine aid. " And you gathered the waters of the Lower Pool . . . And you made a basin between the two walls for the waters of the Old Pool. But you trusted not in its maker nor looked to him who prepared it from afar (Is. 22 : 9b, 11)." The gathering of the waters necessarily implies the construction of a canal or tunnel. Its object was to transport the waters of Gihon from an old pool east of the city and outside its walls into a new pool within the extended city and thus between the old city wall and the later wall enclosing the western extension. As Isaias here refers to recent improvements in the city's defences, it seems hardly possible with Weill and Simons but without archaeological proof to attribute this tunnel to Solomon and more reasonable with Vincent to regard Achaz as its builder. We can thus understand why that monarch made no attempt like his predecessor Joatham, and his successor Ezechias, to strengthen the city's walls. His task was the very important one of securing the water supply.

The third and most famous waterway was built by Ezechias towards the end of his reign c. 700 B.C., and is commemorated in three texts : 4 Kings 20 : 20 ; 2 Par. 32 : 30 (cited above) ; Eccli 48 : 17. The tunnel still exists and has been known for centuries. It conveys the waters of Gihon underneath the hill to a point in the Central Valley over 100 yards north of the Lower Pool. A Hebrew inscription on the east wall near the exit, discovered accidentally in 1880, commemorates " the boring through," and gives the length of the tunnel 1,200 cubits. A modern estimate is 575 yards. Its shape resembles a badly formed capital S in which the lower loop is much larger than the upper. We cannot explain why the builders did not follow a straighter course which would have lessened their work considerably and improved air and light conditions. It was not through technical incapacity since the two gangs of workers operating one from the north and the other from the south end were able to curve their tunnels towards each other and maintain their new courses until they met. Another explanation is the desire to avoid the harder stone layers, but this supposes a knowledge of geology which the Hebrews can hardly have possessed. As the northern half of the tunnel had no air shaft and the southern only one, the lack of pure air as the workers neared their meeting point must have been almost unbearable. Their relief at the completion of their task is expressed in the inscription : " . . . the boring through. This is the story of the boring through : while the miners lifted the pick each towards his fellow and while three cubits yet remained to be bored through, there was heard the voice of a man calling his fellow, for there was a split in the rock on the right hand and on the left. And on the day of the boring through the miners struck, each in the direction of his fellow, pick against pick. And the water started flowing from the source to the pool 1,200 cubits. A hundred cubits was the height of the rock above the head of the miners ".

We learn from 3 Kings 3 : 1 that Solomon built " his own house and the house of the Lord and the wall of Jerusalem round about." A similar statement in 3 Kings 9 : 15 adds the Millo to these buildings. As both temple and palace were on the central hill north of the City of David it is natural to conclude that the wall of Solomon enclosed this hill. These buildings could not be left undefended and the most convenient site for the temple was on the hill's centre where the " sacred rock " still venerated by the Mohammedans, is generally believed to mark the site either of the Altar of Holocausts or less probably of the Holy of Holies. The wall which now encloses the Temple hill has been explored by Warren from the outside. It is generally regarded as Herodian in its lowest parts except at the north-east angle where it is of later date. Above the north-west angle of the Temple enclosure Herod also built the fortress of Antonia where some scholars locate Our Lord's

appearance before Pilate and which replaced the Greek fortress of Baris and the pre-exilic tower of Hananeel.

The Millo also built by Solomon is one of the most vexed questions of the topography of Jerusalem, and we cannot yet determine with certainty either what or where it was. The word means filling. The corresponding Assyrian word *milu* designates an earthwork or raised terrace on which a tower or fort was built. The Beth Millo at Sichem (Judges 9 : 6, 20), seems to have been the upper city on the west side artificially elevated above the level on which the lower city was built and numbering among its edifices the palace of the ruler and the temple of Baal-Berith. From 3 Kings 11 : 27, "And this is the cause of his (Jeroboam's) rebellion against him (Solomon) that Solomon built the Millo and filled up the breach of the city of David his father," we may conclude that so extensive a work was not merely the repair of a wall but the strengthening of a naturally weak point in the defences of the Old City. This weak point was on the north-west and Solomon's western wall uniting the two hills would cover it. The resemblance between Solomon's buildings on the Temple hill and those on the Millo quarter at Sichem is remarkable. Both were supported, though not to the same extent, by substructures and both included the palace of the ruler and the temple of the divinity.

It is impossible to determine the exact date of the inclusion of the S.W. hill within the city walls. Most authorities place the event in the early monarchical period, a few as late as the Hellenic period. The chief reasons for the latter view are that so abnormal an extension of the city area can only be attributed to a period when there was a considerable increase in the population of Palestine and that during the whole earlier period all political and religious activity was centred in its two eastern hills. It may be answered however that Jerusalem as a Hebrew capital would have a much larger population and need a much larger area than the Jebusite city, that the S.W. hill would be the natural occupation area of additional residents, and that the disproportionate size of the hill which made it difficult to defend was more than compensated by its natural strength as it was enclosed by valleys on all four sides. This hill as a plebeian area and business quarter would have little part in the political activity of the city. It was still called the *agora* or market-place in the time of Josephus after the Hasmonaean monarchs and Herod had built their palaces, the former in its north-eastern, the latter in its north-western angle. There is moreover no indication, literary or archaeological, of any addition to the walled city between the pre-exilic and the Roman periods. Some Old Testament texts on the other hand seem to impose the earlier date.

According to Josephus the first northern city wall ran from the (later) tower of Hippicus, the modern Turkish citadel south of the Jaffa Gate,

to the temple, that is, as might be expected, south of the Lateral Valley. Four ancient wall sections have been discovered along this line, two in the middle, one at the eastern and one at the western end. There is no archaeological proof however that any of them is pre-exilic. But that does not exclude the existence of a pre-exilic wall along the same line. Such a wall seems to be indicated in 4 Kings 14 : 13 and 2 Par. 25 : 23, where we are informed that Joas of Israel (798–783 B.C.) after defeating Amasias of Judah and capturing Jerusalem, demolished a stretch of its walls 400 cubits (about 200 yards) in length between the Corner Gate and the Ephraim Gate. The latter as the city's principal exit to the northern provinces must have been in a northern wall, the former at a corner or turn of this wall. Zacharias clearly (14 : 10) and Jeremias less clearly (31 : 38) locate the Corner Gate at the extreme western end of the city in the region of the modern Jaffa Gate. The Ephraim Gate 200 yards east of it would be near the centre of the Lateral Valley. Nehemias confirms this conclusion though he does not mention the Corner Gate but only the tower on it which he calls the Tower of the Furnaces, and which was erected by Ozias, successor of Amasias (2 Par. 26 : 9), to strengthen this very important point in the city's defences. He locates the Tower of the Furnaces north of the Valley Gate in one text (2 Esdras 3 : 11–13, where the direction is counterclockwise), and west of the Ephraim Gate in another text (2 Edras 12 : 37–38, where the direction is clockwise). The Valley Gate, as will be shown later, was at the south-western angle of the city wall. After and therefore north of the Ephraim Gate Nehemias mentions the Fish Gate at the top of the Central Valley and the Tower of Hananeel at the north-western end of the temple. It follows that the section of the northern wall containing the Ephraim and Corner Gates was not north of the temple but south of the Lateral Valley. Joas demolished the western part of this wall which must therefore have existed at the beginning of the eighth century B.C.

The southern wall of the S.W. hill was traced in its entire length by Bliss and Dickie in a three years' excavation campaign 1894-1897. They started from an artificial rock scarp previously discovered by Maudsley at the south-western angle of the hill and found a double wall which ran for a short distance south-west and then due west along the edge of the hill. At the south-east end of the hill a monumental gate was discovered which showed three different stages of construction. The wall then descended into the valley, passed south of the Lower Pool, turned first northwards and then for a short distance westwards to join the Old Wall at the apex of the S.E. hill. Sometimes only one wall appears, sometimes two separate walls belonging to different periods. The surviving portion of the wall reaches at one place a height of 44 feet. Unfortunately no records were kept of the pottery discovered, and we cannot determine the date of the older wall. Here again the Old Testament comes to our aid.

Nehemias inspected the remains of a pre-exilic wall on the southern edge of the S.W. hill from the Valley Gate to the Dung Gate, 1,000 cubits (about 500 yards) to the west of it. The Dung Gate is undoubtedly the gate discovered by Bliss and Dickie at the south-eastern angle of the hill. It is also mentioned by Jeremias under the name Pottery Gate. Both names indicate a dumping ground outside the gate. According to Jeremias ch. 19, this gate led into the Valley of Hinnom at or near the place called Tophet which was in the eastern part of the valley. The Fountain Gate at the southern end of the Old City cannot be meant by the prophet as it led into the Cedron ravine not into the valley of Hinnom. Another descriptive name of this gate is the gate between the walls (Jer. 52 : 7). Here again one might be tempted to suppose that the Fountain Gate was meant were it not for the similar description of the Lower Pool as the basin between the two walls explained above (p. 68). The Valley Gate towards the western end of the south wall may have occupied the site of a Byzantine gate discovered by Bliss and Dickie about 650 yards west of the Dung Gate. Nehemias gives only 1,000 cubits as the distance between the two gates, but the round number suggests an approximate figure. Josephus has a new name, Gate of the Essenes for the Valley Gate. We may conclude therefore from the Scripture texts that the south as well as the north side of the S.W. hill was walled in pre-exilic times. A west wall uniting the north and south walls may be assumed. It does not appear in the texts because it had no gate.

A further argument for the inclusion of the S.W. hill in the pre-exilic city is derived from the number and disposition of its gates. The Turkish walls which enclose the modern city have only seven gates of which the New Gate is a recent addition. Nehemias mentions explicitly nine city gates and implicitly a tenth, the very important Corner Gate. How can we attribute so many gates to a city of so much smaller area ? Where can we locate there with any probability the four gates in the walls of the S.W. hill ? It would be impossible to find a place there for two gates, the Valley Gate and the Dung or Pottery Gate, separated by a long stretch of wall and both communicating with the Valley of Hinnom.

The last addition made to the city in Old Testament times belongs to the seventh century B.C., and was called the Mishneh, lit., the Second, i.e., the added quarter. Hulda the prophetess, consulted by King Josias on the discovery of the book of the Law, dwelt in the Mishneh (4 Kings 22 : 14 ; 2 Par. 34 : 22). About the same time the prophet Sophonias predicting the fall of Jerusalem speaks of cries and lamentations at the Fish Gate and in the Mishneh, the most northerly part of the city which would be first attacked. Now we learn from 2 Par. 32 : 5 that Ezechias after repairing the walls of the city built another wall outside them, and from 2 Par. 33 : 34 that Manasses built a wall first outside the city of

David in the Cedron ravine and then from the Fish Gate round about to Ophel. The Ophel or Bulge was the south-eastern projection of the temple hill. From these two passages Simons concludes that the Mishneh lay east, north and west of the temple and that its western wall as far as the Fish Gate was built by Ezechias, its eastern by his son and successor Manasses. Whatever be the value of this very plausible hypothesis, the Mishneh is more usually understood as the eastern part of the N.W. hill enclosed by the second wall of Josephus. The population of the city had overflowed on to this hill, and it was to protect these suburbans that the second wall was built. Its course is particularly important because it was still the city's north-western boundary in Our Lord's time. If therefore it ran not east but west of the little hill of Calvary the traditional site of Christ's death and burial would be not without but within the city wall and could not be authentic.

According to Josephus " The second wall took its beginning from that gate which they called Gennath (i.e., gardens) which belonged to the first wall ; it only encompassed the northern quarter of the city and reached as far as the tower Antonia (Bell, Iud. 5 : 4 : 2). " Antonia was the fortress built by Herod above the N.W. angle of the temple enclosure. The Garden Gate, the all important point where the wall began, is only mentioned here. It was a gate of the first northern wall which received a new name, like other city gates mentioned by Josephus, derived from the gardens outside the city wall to which it led (Cf. John 19 : 41, " Now there was in the place where he was crucified a garden "). Only two gates in the western part of the first northern city wall are known to us, the Corner Gate and the Ephraim Gate. Now Josephus gives the Herodian tower Hippicus at the western end of the Lateral Valley where also was the Corner Gate as the starting point of his first and third northern walls. The different indication of the starting point of the second northern wall implies a different location of that point and thus excludes the Corner Gate and leaves the Ephraim Gate as the ancient equivalent of the Garden Gate. The Ephraim Gate lost its ancient name when it lost its ancient function as chief exit to the northern provinces taken over by the Fish Gate. It was therefore east of the Ephraim or Garden Gate near the middle of the Lateral Valley that the Mishneh wall began. Its exact course cannot be determined but it would naturally run first northwards and then eastwards to the Antonia. It had two gates, the Fish Gate on its north side, as may be concluded from texts already cited, and from the fact that Jerusalem's fish trade was with the Tyrians, and a gate now generally known as the Mishneh Gate[1] on its west side between the Ephraim Gate and the Fish Gate according to Nehemias (2 Esdras

[1] The Hebrew text has Old Gate, a strange name for a gate in the latest of the city walls. An alteration of the initial letter *y* to *m* gives us Misneh Gate.

12 : 38). Such a determination of the Mishneh leaves Calvary outside the city walls.

While Simons deduces his Mishneh wall described above from literary sources, Vincent sought to determine its course archaeologically from wall sections accidentally discovered in this inhabited area, and remains of what may have been a city moat south and east of Calvary and west of the Antonia. His wall begins north of Hippicus, makes several turns north and east before it passes Calvary on the south and east and then follows the same course as Simons' wall. Simons objects that such of the wall sections as could be critically examined are definitely post-exilic, that the assumed traces of a city moat may be equally well interpreted as remains of ancient quarries and reservoirs, and that the starting point of the wall at Hippicus is contrary to the testimony of Josephus who makes his first and third wall begin at Hippicus but his second at the Garden Gate. Vincent located this gate originally in the second northern wall and later in the west wall south of Hippicus. It is the weak point of his reconstruction.

The chief and common objection to the two suggested courses of the Mishneh wall is of a military character. It is argued that as the N.W. hill slopes eastwards from Calvary to the Central Valley a wall on that hill east of Calvary would be built on a slope and practically impossible to defend. We are reminded of the similar objection once made to the location of the Canaanite city on the S.E. hill, that it would be commanded by the higher Temple hill. Only military strategists can evaluate the force of this difficulty and they seem to be divided in their opinions. It should be noted however that even if the Mishneh wall was too weak to resist effectively a hostile onslaught the capture of the quarter which it protected would not endanger the city. The strong walls east and south of the Mishneh still remained its main defences in that area. The Mishneh wall was not built to strengthen a weak point in the city's defences but to protect at least temporarily its surplus population.

It would be outside the scope of this article to discuss the very convincing positive proofs of the authenticity of the traditional Calvary. We are only concerned with the course of the Mishneh wall. The opinion that it enclosed the entire N.W. hill, Calvary included, has no archaeological support and is opposed to a reasonable interpretation of the testimony of Josephus.

Edmond Power, S.J.

Munificentissimus Deus

The Assumption of Our Lady

by D. S. NERNEY, S.J.

Part I

THE Apostolic Constitution of 1 Nov., 1950, bearing this title, defined as " a dogma revealed by God, that the Immaculate Mother of God, Mary ever Virgin, when the course of her earthly life was finished, was taken up body and soul into the glory of heaven " (par. 53).[1]

This definition mentions two substantial theological grounds of the Assumption, the Divine Motherhood and the Immaculate Conception. It adds another reason developed, for instance, by St. John Damascene (par. 23), her Virginity. It expresses in few and simple words the doctrine proposed for our belief : our Lady's anticipated glory of body in heaven when her life on earth came to an end. We say " anticipated," because the future glorification of the bodies of the just is a dogma which all who recite the Apostolic Symbol profess when they say : I believe in the resurrection of the body and life everlasting. They hope, namely, to achieve at the end of the world that heavenly glory of soul and body which was accorded to Our Lady at the end of her existence on earth.

Finally, the definition does not pronounce on the manner in which the life of Our Lady came to an end : whether she died and her body was raised to life and heavenly glory ; or whether she passed without dying into eternal life, as some commentators understand the Greek text of I Cor. XV 51 to promise the just who live to see the Second Coming. On the other hand, as various texts quoted from tradition as well as certain passages of the Apostolic Constitution itself commemorate or imply her death, it is safe to say that the Church favours, to say the least, the doctrine that Our Lady, as the New Eve, conquered death like her Son, the New Adam, by dying and by being raised forthwith to an eternal life of glory.

The definition of the Assumption marked an epoch in the history of the Church and a privileged moment in the history of devotion to the Mother of God comparable with the definition of her Immaculate Conception by Pius IX or of her Divine Maternity in the third General Council at Ephesus. It was the culmination of a century of intense research into the theology of the Assumption as well as of an ever growing volume of petitions to the Holy See in favour of a solemn definition.

Among many points of interest in the definition of the Assumption two appear to us to be suitable for special consideration here : first, the

[1] The Apostolic Constitution is quoted by the numbered paragraphs of the English language translation issued by the Irish Messenger Office.

definition itself regarded as the exercise of the supreme and infallible magisterium of the Church ; secondly the conformity of the doctrine defined with tradition.

That Holy Scripture attests the establishment of the Church of Christ as a teaching authority which cannot be repudiated in any age with impunity, is not denied by any religious body claiming a mandate to preach in the name of Christ. This is the least significance which any of them attaches to texts like Matt. xxviii, 18-20, John xiv, 16-26, xv 26, xvi 12-13, Acts 18 and others. Further it is generally agreed, we think, that these texts formulate a certain promise, namely that Our Lord would be with His Church always and that the Holy Ghost would teach her all truth and would abide with her for ever. Finally, that this promise signified an infallible magisterium, was not called in question in Christendom for sixteen centuries ; nor is it challenged to-day in East or West except among Protestant sects. It is true that the dissident Eastern Churches have long deprived themselves by schism of the benefits of this charism. But it is not a little thing that they profess the infallibility of the Church in principle, and, in the case of the first seven General Councils, in fact as well. Nevertheless their position in a world of profound religious and political disorder is an anxious one. While they acknowledge on the one hand their own inability to hold a General Council and therefore to reconstitute for themselves the infallible magisterium which they enjoyed until the age of Photius, and must realise on the other that our Lord did not commission His Church to speak infallibly to the world for nine centuries and then be silent for a thousand years, we do not think that we are misinterpreting the following passage from the writings of Professor Dyovouniotis in construing it as evidence of a desire to recover that doctrinal security and certainty which the infallible magisterium of the Catholic Church alone can provide :

> The ancient Church, he wrote in 1920, for reasons beyond her control, defined only such points of dogma as concern the Trinity and the Incarnation. Other dogmatic questions it left undefined ; and that is how they stand to-day in the Eastern Church. There is no doubt at all that the official definition of the other dogmatic teachings is absolutely necessary. (Cit. Jugie, *Theol. Dogm. Orient.* IV, 527).

It is an interesting tribute to the need of an infallible magisterium in the economy of Christian revelation that the dissident Western Churches have never ceased experimenting with various substitutes : the Bible, the Primitive Church, the Prince, the Parliament, the Reformer, the " homely kind of certainty about the great facts (including all, the knowledge of which we count necessary to salvation) " (Salmon, *Infallibility*, 73, 74), or the Agreed Declaration in which all differences and contradictions are sublimated into the higher synthesis of the undefinable or the

unascertainable.[1] But none of these devices has availed to arrest doctrinal decay. Each has had to suffer the final arbitrament of the individual conscience and the endless caprice of private judgment,with the result that the formularies of the Protestant Churches are now so beset with such exceptive, restrictive and generally evasive principles of interpretation that the fundamentals (or, as Mr. Salmon would say, the GRAND FACTS) have now become obscure and unascertainable. The observations of a bishop of the Protestant Establishment, the Bishop of Durham, on this state of doctrinal dissolution in which the flight from infallibility has now ended are apposite here :

> The differences within the Church [the Protestant Establishment] are still deep and dangerous. They make themselves felt with inconvenient vigour whenever we engage in discussions about reunion or intercommunion with other churches, or indeed in debate about subjects of fundamental importance within our own body . . . they are more conscious than they used to be of the need to base ecclesiastical action upon theological principle, and they are discovering that on some matters of principle they differ more deeply than they knew . . . *where do our fundamentals begin and end ?* (*Journal Theol. Studies* Oct., 1950, pp. 130–32 ; italics ours).

In such a scheme of credal relativity therefore, it is not possible to assign any strict significance to words like heterodox, heretical. There may be as many orthodoxies as there are faithful ; but there can be no heterodoxies. Hence the action of certain fallibilist prelates in denouncing the definition of the Assumption as heresy may be dismissed as unwarranted.

How does an infallible definition differ from revelation and inspiration ? The answer should be of special interest to certain critics of the present Constitution who managed to confound all three by describing the charism of Papal Infallibility as a claim " to be the vehicle of inspired revelation." Revelation is the divine attestation of a truth. It is an

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[1] In the Lausanne Conference, 1927, on Faith and Order, the Orthodox delegation called attention to the nominalist device of attempting to conceal the innumerable and irreconcilable differences of the splinter-creeds issued from the Protestant principle of private judgment under cover of superficial general formulæ which the signatories could construe to mean anything or nothing. " The drafting of these two latter [Reports on the Nature of the Church and on the Common Confession of Faith], said the Orthodox Archbishop Germanos, was carried out on a basis of compromise between what in our understanding are conflicting ideas and meanings, in order to arrive at an external agreement in the letter alone. . . . For us, two different meanings cannot be covered by, and two different concepts cannot be deduced from, the same words of a generally agreed statement " (*Faith and Order*, 384, 385). The Orthodox drew attention also to a Protestant defence of the right of private judgment as against one Faith and one Church on the ground that the act of Faith is a free act. Faith, they contend, is a personal conviction and a free assent ; hence each one must be free to assent to this or that and to establish his own creed. This is to confuse a property of the act of faith with its object and content. Belief is a free assent as disbelief is a free dissent. But once a man freely embraces the faith, he must accept its objective content, not his own private and subjective interpretation of the same. " The religious truth," said the Orthodox Prof. Zankow, " is objective (God, Christ and so on) ; that is to say that it exists, and will continue to exist, even independently of our personal conviction and freedom of Judgment " (*o.c.* 192).

internal illumination of the mind by God : and conversely, a passive reception by man of a truth which is in some sense new. In inspiration God, the principal cause, internally moves man, the instrumental cause, to express orally (prophetic inspiration) or in writing (biblical inspiration) whatever God desires to be spoken or written. God is therefore the Author of Holy Scripture and Holy Scripture is the Word of God. An infallible definition is an attestation by the Magisterium as principal cause of the truth of a certain doctrine : wherein immunity from error is secured by a special charismatic direction of God's Providence. It is evident therefore that the human role in these three charismata is very different. In Revelation man is passive : he listens to what God speaks. In inspiration he is active : but only as a rational instrument is active in expressing the mind of God the principal Author of Holy Scripture. In an infallible definition man is the principal cause. It is not God that speaks, as in revelation ; nor who impells man to speak, as in inspiration. Man speaks for himself as a divinely accredited witness whose attestation is guaranteed against error by the assistance of God.

The primary object of the infallible magisterium comprises all truths formally revealed either explicitly or implicitly. The secondary and indirect object extends to various kinds of doctrine the exact and unerring determination of which is necessary for the purpose of guarding and interpreting revelation. Hence, although the assent due to an infallible definition is not necessarily that of divine faith, such an assent may be proper and necessary when the matter defined warrants it : that is, when it is contained in the deposit of faith. And this precisely is the case in the present instance ; and in these terms the Constitution speaks : " We proclaim, declare and define it to be *a dogma revealed by God*. . . . Wherefore if anyone, which God forbid, should wilfully dare to deny or call in doubt what We have defined, let him know that he has certainly abandoned *divine and catholic faith* " (par. 53, 54).

The terms of the Definition therefore make it clear that we are concerned here with the primary object of the infallible magisterium : with what has been formally revealed ; and further with the function which the Church as the Depositary, Guardian, Interpreter and Judge of revelation and as the proximate rule of faith has exercised from the beginning with respect to the primary object.

The function may exercised in various ways. Truths expressly revealed are formulated in more precise terms. What appears to be obscure or ambiguous is clarified. Unemphasised doctrines are taught more instantly. Those attacked are defended. The various dispersed elements of a doctrine are incorporated in a single whole. The Faith is illustrated by analogies. What is implicitly revealed is drawn out and expressed in explicit terms. (cf. Bainvel, *De Magisterio Vivo et Traditione*, ed. 1905, 140).

Now of these different ways the last is not the least important. Indeed the passage of Apostolic tradition from the implicit to the explicit has been one of the richest sources of doctrinal progress from the beginning. Hence, as the present state of the sources suggests that such a passage took place in the case of the Assumption towards the end of the sixth century, it is of interest to consider briefly the meaning and history of this form of development.

For the better understanding of dogmatic tradition from the implicit to the explicit it is important to distinguish between two modes of doctrinal transmission, the historico-theological and the dogmatic mode. In the former, transmission is assured by a positive attestation of the facts ; in the latter by inclusion in a doctrine of faith which is explicitly believed and professed. Of the first mode it would be superfluous to give examples. Of the latter we may instance Our Lady's virginity *post partum* and the Tridentine doctrine of the intention necessary for the administration of the sacraments. (H. Lennerz, s.j., *De Sac NL in genere*, ed. 1939, n 115). We allude to the distinction here because certain critics of the present definition reject the second mode of transmission. This is unreasonable and unscientific. If the principles of the natural sciences are recognised as a secure vehicle for the ascertaining or checking of facts, why should not the principles of the supernatural economy be accorded the same efficacy ? When the astronomer, using the principles of his science, certifies the occurrence in prehistory of a solar eclipse, no one rejects his conclusion on the ground that the fact lacks historical proof. His computation may indeed be inaccurate but all concede that his method is sound. Or again, when the traditional account of the battle of Clontarf, fought on Good Friday, 23 April, 1014, states that many of the Danes, retreating to their ships at the end of the day, were drowned in the flood tide, the mathematical calculation that the tide was full in Dublin Bay at five to six that evening is not regarded as an intrusion of an abstract science into the realm of history, but is welcomed as a confirmation of the facts which history records.

The existence of such principles in tradition and the value of some of them as a vehicle of the doctrine of the Assumption is part of the teaching of the present Constitution and will be touched on later. For the moment we must resume our consideration of the passage of a revealed doctrine from the implicit to the explicit : a process usually called dogmatic development. It will suffice for our present purpose to illustrate it by an example and to confirm it from the Fathers.

It has been an express article of the Christian faith from the beginning that God became man. In this article there are contained many doctrines concerning the Person of Christ, his two natures, their mode of union, His two wills, His various kinds of knowledge, His holiness, and much else, all of which were certainly not formulated in the explicit

profession of the Church in the first generation. Some of them at least did not emerge as matters of faith expressly formulated and defended by the Church until the Christological heresies called for condemnation or according as the pacific enquiries of the Fathers drew out the latent senses of tradition. This process went forward with such regularity in the early centuries that it is accepted even by liberal theologians as a chronological measure. An explicit profession of two wills in Christ, for instance, suffices, in the absence of other evidence, to make it very probable that a document is later than the Sixth General Council. The device is in such common use among scholars for the dating of anonymous unidentified pieces that it seems unnecessary to labour the matter here. It will be more profitable, we think, to consider how clearly this process of dogmatic development was understood in the early Church and how it operated from the earliest times.

We may set down the doctrine of St. Augustine in his own words :

There were many therefore who could understand and expound Scripture perfectly living unnoticed among God's people. But they did not come forward with the answer to difficult questions simply because no calumniator challenged them. Was the doctrine of the Trinity fully investigated [*Numquid enim perfecte de Trinitate tractatum est*] before the railings of the Arians ? Or the doctrine of Penance before the revolt of the Novatians ? Similarly Baptism was not properly explored until heretical rebaptisers went into opposition ; while the very doctrine of the unity of Christ was not elucidated or developed [*nec de ipsa unitate Christi enucleate dicta erant*] as it was later when schism began to obsess the weaker brethren and those who were competent to explain and dissipate the difficulties, and in that fashion to preserve the weak agitated by the objections of evil men, drew forth in sermons and disputations the hidden senses of the Law into the common view [*obscura Legis in publicum deducerent*].

Many meanings [*sensus*] of Holy Scripture lie hidden and are known to a few keener minds. The best and most acceptable time for bringing them forward is when the duty of answering heretics calls for such a step. It is then that they who neglect the study of [sacred] doctrine are roused from their torpor to lend an ear to the refutation of their opponents. In fine how many meanings of Holy Scripture were laid down [*asserti*] against Photinus ! How many concerning the humanity of Christ against Manichaeus ! How many about the Trinity against Sabellius ! How many about the unity of the Trinity against Arians, Eunomians, Macedonians ! How many with regard to the diffusion of the Catholic Church throughout the world, the persistance of bad men until the end of time and the inability of these to prevent the good from participating in the community of sacred things [*sacramentorum societate*] Aug. *Enarr. in Psal.*, lv 22 ; Psal lxvii 39 ; ML 36, 643, 837.

Shortly after St. Augustine's death St. Vincent of Lerins wrote his *Commonitorium.* Against the perverse use of Holy Scripture among the hreetics and their " wild and rabid glosses " in defense of their " profane novelties " he proposed this rule of faith : in the Catholic Church we must have a great care to hold what was believed in all places, always

and by all : to follow universality, antiquity and consent (c. 2). The manifest objection to this rule, namely, that it appears to preclude all growth, all advance in the Faith the author himself states and answers as follows :

> But, it may be objected : is there to be no progress of religion in the Church of Christ ? Indeed there is, and very great progress . . . provided always that it is a real development and not a change of faith [*profectus fidei non alteratio*]. . . . The intelligence, knowledge and wisdom both of individuals and of the whole Church, in successive periods and centuries, should grow well and vigourously—but only within the limits of its kind : that is, in the same dogma, in the same sense and in the same signification [*eodem dogmate, sensu, sententia*] (c. 23).

We have chosen these passages not only because each is a classical presentation of the theme of doctrinal development combined with the substantial immutability of dogma, but also because both writers are concerned with Holy Scripture as a source of dogmatic progress.[1]

St. Augustine's viewpoint is worthy of close attention. He is referring in general to theological doctrines : those namely which were debated in the greater and lesser controversies of the first five centuries. The true doctrines were contained in Holy Scripture objectively but not always explicitly (*latent, obscura Legis*). For though known to a few, they were not generally understood nor did they enter into the explicit profession of the Church until they were impugned. Hence the condemnation of heretics by the Church involved the repudiation of their false glosses and the vindication of the genuine sense of Holy Scripture. This passage of Scriptural doctrine from the implicit to the explicit is clearly for St. Augustine a mode of dogmatic development guaranteed by the Church, fortified with ecclesiastical censures and operative in the Church from the earliest times.

As a modern witness to the principle of development we may take Cardinal Newman. There is no doubt that it was this principle which helped to break down his Protestant prejudice against the Catholic Church. His letter of 4 May, 1843, shows how deeply it had disturbed his religious state : " I am very far more sure," he wrote, " that England is in schism than that the Roman additions to the Primitive Creed may not be developments arising out of a keen and vivid realising of the Divine Depositum of Faith." Two years of further study of the subject dissipated all doubt and he entered the Catholic Church. " Since the above was written," he states in the postcript to the preface of the *Essay on Development of Christian Doctrine*, " the Author has joined the Catholic Church. It was his intention and wish to have carried his Volume through the press before deciding finally on this step. But when he got

[1] Salmon's elegant description of the theory of development deserves to be recorded here : " The theory of development is, in short, an attempt to enable men, beaten off the platform of history, to hang on to it by the eyelids." *Infallibility*, 32.

some way in the printing he recognised in himself a conviction of the truth of the conclusion to which the discussion leads, so clear as to supersede further deliberation. Shortly afterwards circumstance gave him the opportunity of acting upon it, and he felt that he had no warrant for refusing to do so."

We close this part of our study with the answer to a difficulty.

The definition of the Assumption has been described as a *petitio principii*, a begging of the question : in the sense, apparently, that the Church has superimposed on the reluctant evidence a bias favourable to the doctrine to be defined and has then defined it.

This charge *may* involve the supposition that the Church has canonized the legends of the Apocrypha. If so, the answer lies in the highly critical attitude of the Church since the *Decretum Gelasianum* to the present time : a matter to be considered later.

But, from the very nature of the charge, namely, that the definition is a demonstration vitiated by a dialectical sophism, it is manifest that the antagonist is under the misconception that an infallible definition is the immediate and formal result of a scientific appraisal of the evidence.

To this we reply that an infallible definition is not the work of an archivist, or of an historian. It is not a rational synthesis scientifically deduced from the monuments of antiquity. Neither is it an academic theme based solely on a critical investigation of sources. It is the pronouncement of a teaching authority established by Our Lord to guard and expound the Deposit of Faith and rendered immune from error by the assistance of the Holy Ghost. This Teaching Authority of the Church, the Apostolic Constitution observes, fulfils the office committed to it . . . not indeed by any merely human activity but by the assistance of the Spirit of Truth, and so without any error whatsoever (par. 11).

It is not thereby suggested that it is usual for an infallible authority to neglect inquiry and deliberation on the doctrine to be defined. The Vatican Council recalls that the practice of the Holy See has been quite different. " The Roman Pontiffs, " it explains, " according as different times and circumstances suggested, at one time, by summoning Ecumenical Councils, or by exploring the view of the Church spread over the world, at other times by special Synods, or making use of whatever helps God's Providence made available, defined those things as demanding our assent [*ea tenenda definiverunt*] which with God's assistance they recognised as agreeable to Holy Scripture and Apostolic traditions." (Vat. Council Sess. iv cap. 4).[1]

D. S. Nerney

(to be concluded)

[1] In connection with the present definition the following preparatory commission was appointed : Mgr. Ottaviani, Assessor of the Holy Office, President ; Mgr. Parente, P.P. Hürth and Tromp, s.j., Dom Caronti, O.S.B., P. Bea s.j., P. Balic O.F.M., P.P. Hentrich and Moos, s.j., P. Jugie, A.A., P. Henri de S. Térèse, O.C.D., P. Garrigou-Lagrange, O.P., P. Lennerz, s.j., Mgr. Crovini, Secretary. (Osservatore Romano, 9–10 Dec., 1950).

The Adolescent

by THE REVEREND PROFESSOR E. F. O'DOHERTY, M.A., PH.D.

HUMAN life moves in a sequence of phases, more or less well-defined, each of which presents its own special characteristics, problems and advantages. These phases, for our purposes, can be listed as follows: infancy, childhood, adolescence, conscious adulthood, marriage and parenthood, final maturity, and senescence. Some of these phases are easily definable, for example, infancy and childhood, marriage and parenthood. But the others are more complicated.

I use the phrase " conscious adulthood " for instance, because adulthood is not necessarily reached at the age of twenty-one. This is legal adulthood. But a man is not really an adult until he has reached the conscious awareness that he is now an independent entity, bearing a tremendous responsibility, standing alone in his own right as a person. Again, senescence is not an easy phase to define. It is not the same as senility. It simply means growing old. It refers to the phase which follows the full realisation and maturity of one's powers, and can begin almost at any time from the middle thirties. Usually however, it begins in the fifties.

Now, as far as development of personality is concerned, all these phases are important. They are in fact the critical points in life where the human person is most susceptible to influences for good or ill. They are the crucial points where if desirable influences are brought to bear on the individual, they can have their most telling effect, and where undesirable influences can have their most devastating effect. And of all these phases, adolescence is the most important.

The period of adolescence is also the most mysterious in life. It is a curious transition stage, a mixture of realisation and unfulfilled promise, of the fantasy world of childhood and the real world of the adult. It comes in suddenly, and vanishes as it were overnight. Even though we have all been through it, we shall never fully understand it, since there is no re-entry. We have even forgotten and cannot now re-capture our own adolescence, and tend in spite of ourselves to expect the adolescent to see the world through our adult eyes, where the most we can do really is to prepare him to see it eventually through his own eyes when the time comes.

The clue to adolescence lies in the concept of maturation. The human being goes through a constant process of change and development all through life. But he does not develop in all respects at the same time, nor in the same way, nor at the same rate. For our purposes, I draw

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attention to a threefold maturation which will help towards the understanding of the adolescent—physical, intellectual, and emotional maturation.

Physical maturation refers to the growth of the organism, and specifically to the process whereby the organism attains the capacity of self-reproduction. This is what we mean by puberty, the complicated organic changes which take place in the teens—in the case of boys a year or so later than in the case of girls—and which are a remote preparation for parenthood. There is quite a considerable variation in age in some individuals, and one can only give average figures. In general, in the vast majority of cases this first kind of maturity is attained in the early teens. When I call it physical maturity, of course, this does not imply that physically the organism does not develop after this point. Of course it does. This is one kind of physical maturation, or one stage in physical maturation.

The problem of the adolescent might conceivably be much simpler if he matured in other respects at the same rate as his physical development. But this is not so. The child begins to use his reason at a very early stage in life. At first this is a groping uncertain operation. By the age of seven he is usually spoken of as having attained the use of reason, but this is still a far cry from the full development of his intellectual capacity. But this development goes forward at an increasing rate into the teens, and the individual normally reaches his peak of intellectual capacity at about fifteen. Let us be a little bit conservative and put it at sixteen. Notice that I have spoken of intellectual *capacity* rather than attainment, because of course he will not have attained his full intellectual content by that time. But his capacity to receive and absorb knowledge or mental content will never, as a rule, be any greater than it is at sixteen. This is our second maturation point, the process of intellectual maturation.

But it is the third maturation process which really complicates the whole picture, the process of emotional maturation.

The emotional life of the child is comparatively simple. He responds with pleasant feelings to pleasant things ; he answers affection with affection. He manifests his likes and dislikes simply and directly, knowing instinctively as it were that his emotional outbursts will serve to rid himself of unpleasant experiences, and to ensure the satisfaction of his wants. He does not reflect on his emotional states, for he cannot, and so they are not a puzzle for him.

But with the onset of puberty, the capacity for emotional experience is vastly expanded. The emotions go deeper in intensity, are more varied in quality, more extensive in sheer quantity. And remember that the intellect is going ahead by leaps and bounds just at this time. Curiosity, a desire for knowledge, is aroused. Self-consciousness, in

the sense of consciousness of self, becomes acute, the capacity for reflection and self-analysis develops, so that intellect is confronted with a new set of rather bewildering problems. But it has a long way to go yet before it can even begin to understand the nature of these emotional processes. Emotional maturity is for the majority of people the last of the three to be achieved—and some people, let us admit, never achieve it at all.

Because of the maturation of the organism, the expanded capacity for emotional experience, and the bewilderment of a growing intellect without a corresponding growth in understanding, the adolescent very often becomes aware of a vague uneasiness, a feeling of malaise, or anxiety, which he cannot explain to himself. There are many causes for this anxiety. There is perhaps a reluctance to " put away the things of a child "—to forsake the secure world of childhood, and face the rather incomprehensible world of the adult. Part of this is undoubtedly the fear of the unknown, part also the fear of responsibility—in general, the fear of growing up. And the oddest part of it is that growing up is also attractive. The adolescent is no longer a child, and not yet a man. And yet he is still a child in many ways, and already a man in some respects. It is this conflict which accounts for a great deal of the conflicting emotions of the adolescent, and for the ensuing bewilderment. This vague anxiety, coupled with the growth in physical capacity and emotional life leads very often to hyper-activity in the case of boys, and the typical tantrums or hysteria in girls.

But there are other components of the restlessness or uneasiness of the adolescent. Adolescence is the time when talents emerge, often unsuspected up to then. They are as yet undeveloped, mere potentialities, which seek fulfilment, and the boy very often does not know what to do with them, or about them, or he may lack even the possibility of doing anything about them. His energy and enthusiasm run high, and generosity and goodwill are at their peak. All these factors combined give rise to the typical idealism and romanticism of adolescence. Never again in the course of his life will the boy be as ready to accept a worthwhile ideal to strive for as at this point in his development. Later on, cynicism and disillusionment together with the pain of life will have taken their toll. But now these forces play no part. A certain amount of romanticism, expressed in day-dreams or fantasy, is typical of this phase. The adolescent sees himself in the part of whomever happens to be his hero for the time being—the popular footballer, film star, or spaceship ranger—or in a private world of his own he carries out exploits of dare-devilry and heroism by imitating in play the exciting exploits of real life. All this, within reason, is good and healthy. But the phrase " within reason " is the nub of the matter, for although the adolescent has attained the use of reason several years earlier, he will nevertheless not see himself or judge his actions according to the mature reason of

the adult. It would be a mistake to expect him to do so. And that is why supervision, a gentle restraint, and wise discipline are indispensable.

The adolescent needs constant advice and training in maxims of good behaviour. But he does not always, or even often, accept, as an adult might, an abstract principle, and proceed to apply it as a standard of judgment to the present concrete situation. That comes later. The adolescent takes a shortcut in determining how he ought to behave. This he accomplishes through the twin processes of identification and imitation. Hero-worship is the most natural thing in the world for the adolescent. He selects his hero, identifies himself in imagination with him, and imitates (consciously or unconsciously) his behaviour. You may see this carried to absurd lengths, by adult standards, when the adolescent imitates the walk, the speech, even the hair-style of his hero, as well as his standards of behaviour. What should the adult do when he finds himself the object of such hero-worship? Not, I suggest, repudiate it summarily, but make himself worthy of it. Above all, he should never, even in small things, present a pattern for the adolescent to imitate of which he should be ashamed.

Man is a social animal—not simply a gregarious animal. Gregarious animals congregate together and travel in packs for purposes of mutual defence and food-seeking. But man is not just an animal. He is a reasonable creature with an immortal soul. And it was part of the Divine Plan for man that he should live with his fellowmen in groups, in order that each member might contribute something to the formation of his fellows. The full flowering of each man's personality is only possible in the inter-play and complicated relations of human society. The tendency which leads ultimately to the formation of the state as we know it in the modern world has its roots very deep indeed in human nature. And the period of adolescence is the point at which this need for group structure or organization makes itself felt for the first time. The adolescent very often has difficulty in making the various adjustments which are called for in social relations, due to self-consciousness, uneasiness, or even simple physical awkwardness. And yet he needs and feels the need of the society of his fellows. He needs to have the sharp corners of his personality smoothed and this is done in association with others. If he fails outright in this (and some few do in fact so fail) he may develop into a shy, shut-in, maladjusted, rather unlovable type of person; or he may become the kind of person who seems to be always suffering from a sense of grievance, the kind of person which popular magazines sometimes refer to as anti-social.

But this innate tendency towards social organisation has a further interest and importance for us. It is quite certain that any group of adolescents for whom no group-structure or organisation is provided will inevitably provide one for themselves. This can take any one of a

thousand forms. But unfortunately, in our urban civilisation, it almost invariably takes the form of the " gang." The " gang " organisation is obviously not in itself a bad thing, since it springs from an innate disposition which is good. But the trouble arises out of a second factor, equally inevitable. An organisation of human beings which has no purpose cannot survive for long. Now it happens very often that a group of adolescents, following their natural inclination, form a gang. And then they find that they have nothing to do—perhaps for the simple reason that they have no equipment for games and no money to buy any. The next stage is easy. They must discover some purpose to hold the gang together, or else break up. They will not normally break up voluntarily and so they choose a purpose. The purpose so chosen, without adult guidance, and without means or equipment or understanding, can sometimes be a nefarious one. If you add to all these facts the fact mentioned already of the tendency to imitation, you can see how a group of youngsters can easily move without malice aforethought from the stage of being a gang to the stage of being gangsters.

When a human being is one of a group, he will very often behave differently from the way in which he would behave if he were entirely on his own. This is due to many factors, the chief one being the fact that the consciousness of individual responsibility is submerged in the collective emotional drive of the group. One of the causes of juvenile delinquency is undoubtedly to be found in the combination of the various factors just listed : the innate tendency towards group activity, the forming of the purposeless gang, and the diminution of responsibility in the sense indicated. There are of course many other factors involved : one must never forget the doctrine of original sin, and the fact that the irrational side of man's nature is not wholly under the control of reason. And, because original sin is a factor involved here, neither should one forget the efficacy of Grace. It is because " where sin abounded, Grace doth the more abound " that juvenile delinquency in our Catholic City is relatively such a small problem compared to other cities.

I have mentioned certain critical points in human development where the individual is most susceptible to influences for good or ill in the moulding of his personality. In the first few years, the infant is influenced mainly by his mother ; at about the seventh year the father's influence begins to predominate. All this time, of course, other influences are also at work : the rest of the family, playmates, infant school, and the child's Faith. But in adolescence the pattern changes significantly. At this stage there is a stirring of the sense of independence. The child becomes vaguely aware of a desire for emancipation, a desire to break with the family at least for some purposes. And at this stage, the most far-reaching influences on the developing personality are precisely the groups to which he will belong, and which form, if not a substitute for,

at least an auxiliary to the family. It is important in the case of the adolescent, that this tendency to emancipation should not be entirely frustrated. There should take place a gradual weaning of the child through boyhood and adolescence, so that when the time comes he will be able to stand alone before the world, a mature adult. I suggest that this weaning process is equally necessary in youth organisations. A boy can become dependent on such an organisation in adolescence, as he was on the family in childhood, and may find the adjustment to adulthood extremely difficult. He should be helped sympathetically over this hurdle.

Because the " groups " to which he belongs are more immediate and more far-reaching in their effects on the developing personality in adolescence than any other single influence, one can see how important it is that the adolescent should belong to desirable and worthy groups.

Clubs and Youth Organisations are a means whereby desirable influences can be brought to bear on the boy at one of the most crucial points in his development. These influences take effect through the satisfaction of certain basic needs of the adolescent. He certainly needs a sound grounding in Christian Doctrine, and in moral training or character formation. For the first there is no adequate substitute for the laborious, sometimes heart-breaking but often consoling operation of teaching. For the latter, all the devices of the club in the form of co-operative and competitive group activities are efficacious.

Among the many other needs of the adolescent, I shall single out a few for special comment.—

Security : I speak not of economic security, but of emotional security. Everyone, at every age, needs this. But it is especially important in adolescence, which, psychologically speaking, is a time of the greatest insecurity. This is best achieved, I suggest, by making the boy feel that he " belongs " in the club or organisation. He is not just tolerated there. He should not be made to live under a constant threat of dismissal, or of punishment or reprimand.

New Experiences : The enormously increased capacity for physical effort as well as for emotional life demands that surplus energies be drawn off somehow, and demands also that some aspects of the rich variety of the world (which is always a new world for the adolescent) be made available for him. The adolescent has an enquiring mind and all the world is before him. Give him an opportunity to explore it.

Self-esteem : He needs some grounds for thinking well of himself. This is not the same as vanity, which means thinking too well of oneself without sufficient grounds. If the adolescent has no grounds for self-esteem, we run the risk of producing weak dependent immature adults.

Very often the club can satisfy these last two needs by the same means, because it provides an opportunity for a new experience, and helps the individual boy to shine at it. If those in charge of the club find a boy who cannot shine at any activity they provide, they should try to find something else for him, e.g., make him responsible for opening the window, or for calling the roll. In general, responsibility should be spread far and wide among the group. It is not necessary always to select the best boy, or the born leader when an individual has to be chosen for a special task.

Finally, I shall mention the need for *repetition of the familiar*. Routine is necessary because the adolescent needs the sense of living in a world he knows, as well as the exploration of the new world opening before him. The repetition of the familiar, which may be monotonous to an adult, can contribute greatly to the security of adolescents.

If those in charge of adolescents realised the plasticity of the material in their hands, and the importance of the work they are doing, I have no doubt that they would be both frightened and consoled. They are dealing with human persons at the precise point where the developing personality is most receptive to every suggestion, and most sensitive to every rebuff. They are the models on which the boys shape themselves. They are, for them, the adult world. It is their task to produce both mature persons and good citizens in this world, and children of Light in the next.

E. F. O'Doherty

Musings and Memories

HELENA CONCANNON, M.A., D.Litt.

obiit 27 Feb., 1952.

by MARY M. MACKEN, M.A., D.LITT.

ON that bleak Wednesday of February when death sealed the eyes of my friend of long ago, there was ended a life that, as I look back on it across the arches of the years, seems to me to show a singular unity of pattern and purpose as well as a simple grandeur of design. I am not thinking of the many gifts of story, well known, that were hers—and of song, not nearly as well known as it should be. Nor do I as yet wish to call to mind the great attainments, linguistic and other, that are implied and well vouched for in the series of scholarly historical works which, in more than thirty years from the publication in 1915 of her great *Life of St. Columban*, she gave to her people and their religious institutions. How highly these were rated by educated electors is surely proved by her return in 1933 as National University Member for Dáil Éireann at the head of the poll. That result was confirmed in 1938 when, after the abolition of the University Constituencies in the Dáil, she was a candidate for election to the Seanad as one of the three National University members and was again returned at the head of the poll, holding her seat on the same terms in successive elections till her death. I like to think for the honour of this " Island of Saints and Scholars " that she owed this result at least as much to her known achievements as to her membership of any political party. What I am trying to put into words now is rather this : that these gifts of hers, these achievements were but one expression of a personality that was finer, rarer and more precious than any projection or portrayal of itself could be.

All who knew Helena Concannon were aware that she was unworldly. That was for her no mere negation ; she was otherworldly as well. Her other world was an amalgam of the human and the divine, embracing fatherland and family, husband and home, the Creator and His Creation as they stood revealed in the faith and the practices of the Catholic Church. This otherworld constituted a unity which was her aura ; in it she lived, moved and had her being. It was akin to the imaginative unity which W. B. Yeats said the Church created " when It was most powerful, teaching learned and unlearned to climb to the great moral realities through hierarchies of Cherubim and Seraphim, through clouds

of Saints and Angels who all had their precise duties and privileges." It was at once ideal and reality, and it could and did find its form as well in the simple everyday things of life as in life's sublimations. These were for Helena Concannon the permanencies which W. B. said " the artist looks for in the soul of the world to the neglect of his own soul." If the neglect of his soul be a necessary constituent of the modern artist, my friend neither could nor would have laid claim to the title. If I were looking for a poet sponsor for her, though W. B. might, surprisingly enough, seem in many of his early philosophisings, to fill the bill, I should rather choose another woman, Alice Meynell, in *The Lady of the Lambs*?

She walks, the lady of my delight
A shepherdess of sheep
Her flocks are thoughts
She keeps them white
She guards them from the steep
She feeds them on the fragrant height
And folds them in for sleep
. . . . . .
She is so circumspect and right
She has her soul to keep.

When I first met Helena Walsh in 1899 she was a dark haired slip of a girl with lovely blue eyes and a remarkable brow in a face in which goodness and kindliness were mirrored. She came from Maghera, a country town in Derry, apparently full of character and of " characters," and rich in historical associations. I have been reading the late District Justice Louis J. Walsh's sketch of the " wee town," the memories of which were surely shared with the sister nearest to him in age in that family of seven children. The sketch helps me to ruminate a little on Maghera as part source of some of the earlier of Helena's lyrics, written between 1900 and 1906, and on the shared memories as occasionally lending colour to her reactions. In a speech which she made in the Upper House in 1939 on the Crimes against the State Bill when, pleading for the removal of the Death Penalty for Treason as well as for the consideration " in a calmer atmosphere " of the question of a Death Penalty at all, she said : " Not reason but instinct revolts against it ; instinct should not be ignored charged as it is with racial and ancestral vibrations from the deepest part of our being." She might well have been thinking of eye-witness tales of her childhood told by an old woman survivor and to which the Walsh children must have listened with a fearsome joy—of the hanging, for instance, with gory details, of the " United Man " Watty Graham, from a tree in the centre of the wee town in 1798.

In 1899 there were as yet no responsibilities of a kind to rouse ancestral ghosts from their graves. The sturdy Maghera girl was bright and

cheerful. She could have sported—she never did—three gold medals for Intermediate First Places. She could also have on occasion worn the coveted Scholars' black velvet mortarboard for she had got at Matriculation in 1897 a Royal University Scholarship for three years in Modern Languages. In 1899 she was taking a breather before starting to prepare for B.A. in 1900. I was due to present for M.A. and try for Studentship in the same year, and we were to go together in the autumn to Germany and later to France. In Dublin the Gaelic League was then a lusty eight year old child. The rooms in Upper O'Connell Street were used for Irish classes, and she and I with a few other University girls and boys registered with Charles McNeill. Our teacher turned out to be an undergraduate named Pádraig Pearse, enthusiastic, nervous and shy. On the first evening he threatened to ruin a neat white handkerchief with blackboard operations, there being no provision for a duster. When next day the thoughtful Northerner made good the deficiency, we were as embarrassed by his blushes as he himself was !

I had been in Berlin in 1898 but it was Helena's first visit. We lived in Lindenstrasse 39, an Ursuline foundation, recommended by Mary Ryan, one of several Cork Ursuline girls to " finish " in Germany. No. 39 housed a Catholic Church open to the public, a Conservatory of Music, the Director of which was the church organist, a large day school, a small exclusive boarding school and, for us two as well as for others, what was called a " Seminar " where advanced students could reside and where courses of lectures were given. We were free to come and go as our work required. Our German fellow students represented a variety of interests, Art, Music, Domestic Science, Drill. There were two Poles who interested us, both doing music. One was from Galicia (Austrian occupation), rich, gay, *soignée* ; the other completely bloodless, tense, sad. She was a Prussian subject and had been born in prison in Posen ! Our daily life was novel, interesting and pleasant. We were able to make our own arrangements with lay portresses for late return from theatres, etc., and the Germans, most of whom were beerdrinkers for whom the Convent daily ration of beer was not sufficient, could buy a bottle in the portresses' rooms for three halfpence ! We were not beerdrinkers but we appreciated to the full the advantages of a liberty of which University girls living in the Dublin Convents in our days might perhaps dream, but which they certainly did not enjoy. As the only students in the house attending the University we had a prestige and were often invited to the rooms of some of the Baronesses who, as members of illustrious Catholic families, were also housed in 39. They entertained us with caviare and choice wines from their own cellars—even the students could have their own wine stocks in the Convent cellars —and, in return, we had to submit to a searching inquiry as to the exact difference in value between our Anglo-Irish speech forms and the pure

English forms as used by a resident English mistress ! Helena, with what she later called, in a debate with Deputy McGilligan, her native Doric, refused to be interested in the research, disclaiming all responsibility for English, pure or impure.

These were happy carefree days and we were good companions. We worked hard, but we relaxed as well and stretched our pocket money to spend what were then called the " Kartoffelferien " (potato holidays) in late October, looking at the Sistine Madonna in Dresden or roaming along the Elbe to pick up the traces of Schiller for whose " Wallenstein " we had feverishly queued at the Schauspielhaus some weeks previously. Dresden we liked better than Berlin, and the Saxons were more accessible than the Prussians. The Hofkirche was a novel experience and a joy for us both, with its baroque splendour and its wonderful choir of which the most renowned artistes of the Court Opera were members. It had no equivalent in Prussia's then almost dourly Protestant capital, whose Catholics could not claim even a Bishop of their own ; they were under Breslau. The Kulturkampf was barely over ; our Superior in 39 had been, as a nun, in enforced exile in England for two years. The present Cathedral Church, the Hedwigskirche, was not open on week-days, except for a small rotunda chapel the confessionals of which were mostly occupied by Polish priests, there to facilitate for the Polish workers in the city the discharge of their religious obligations in their native tongue. Dresden, too, had little of the military formalism or the somewhat self-conscious grandeur of a Capital like Berlin which had been more or less groomed and, under the controversial figure of William II, was still grooming for Empire. That was the period of Boer War repercussions and the mood was anti-British, but even we were to protest when the resident English mistress was being baited not because of her country's attack on the Boers, but because of its want of preparation and therefore of success ! The pattern for all would-be imperial governments should have been that of Prussia where Moltke, when informed by Bismarck in 1871 that war was about to be declared against France said, with stark simplicity : " Drawer No. 2," and in nine months everything was nicely cleaned up !

We were in Paris by Easter, taking, for our Goethe local colour, Frankfurt am Main and Strassburg on our way. It was the Exhibition year and a French convent was out of the question. We would have had to have a chaperone for the Sorbonne and the Collège de France, not to mention the Comédie Française ! How we sighed for Lindenstrasse ! But a kind friend in the Collège des Irlandais (God rest his soul!) combed the Quartier Latin for quarters for us and we were installed with an old and lively widow at 61 Rue Cardinal Lemoine, a fascinating by-street with a welcome green sward in front of the triangle of low houses. We were close to Sainte Geneviève and our families could

rest assured that there was daily Mass when Helena was in charge—and she always was—of that part of the programme. The Sorbonne and the Collège were pleasantly near ; we relaxed in the Luxembourg Gardens or we crossed the river to the Louvre and the Bibliothèque Nationale. Our landlady was a Breton who had come young to Paris, had been through the Franco-Prussian War and the Commune, and was able to tell us of the shuttered windows and the deserted streets of the Capital as the German Army made its grand entrance after the fall of France. She could also tell us of the sufferings of the people and of the rats which she saw for sale as food at high prices in the Avenue de l'Opéra. Her grandson, aged ten, was always coming and going in the house ; he had questioned us on the day we arrived as to where we had been before then and on hearing of Germany he exclaimed, each time he met us : " *A bas les Allemands ! Les Allemands, ce sont des types !*" After three decades the enmity had been passed on !

In Paris as in Berlin, we worked hard, but kind friends saw to it that we played as well. We, to do them credit at lunches and five o'clocks and drives in the Bois, went as gay as our purses allowed for Paris was then, as now, a city of high prices. I recall fantastic adventures in search of suitable summer hats which ended in our both buying the same white model ! But we were assured that the effect was good and, being young, we were ready to believe it. We were happy receiving, and, as we were charmingly assured, giving pleasure—and that too in sunlit Paris. No. 39 Lindenstrasse with all its advantages faded into a remote past and Helena was eagerly awaiting her brother, Richard, who was coming up from his ecclesiastical college in Montpellier to accompany her home ! He was not yet ordained. I imagine that one of her poems which I especially like, the subject of which she puts at a remove of a century and a half is, in reality, the deposit of her emotion when assisting at his First Mass.

The close of 1900 when our companionship ended saw her with the coveted B.A., First Class Honours. She took her success quietly ; there were other things to occupy her now. It was in 1900 she first met the man who was six years later to become her husband. It was a romance that ended only with her death. Academic honours and their consequences would now naturally fall into an entirely different perspective. Her early lyrics were written in those years ; they are almost all love poems. They fulfil the demand of, I think it is Coleridge, that poetry be " simple, sensuous, passionate." For me they are an example of that integration of faith and fealty, love and life, folk and family, which was Helena Concannon's great characteristic and the source of her great strength. I still have, ragged and almost illegible now, the cuttings I made of some of those poems as they appeared in Arthur Griffith's paper. Later, I believe, they were published in American papers as well. They

should be collected and put into book form. I have beside me as I write a booklet of verses with a Foreword by Helena Concannon—a foreword which undoubtedly helped the verses to get published. They are the poems of " A Working Girl." It was only one of the innumerable acts of kindness in doing which my friend's life was spent. Her poems can stand on their own. They are often a direct emotional release rather than an emotional-intellectual activity. But they are not in any sense derivative. The note is her own ; the regional element, so strong in her later verse, too, is always interesting, and there is in the ballad forms a use of dialect to give her a variety of vowel and consonant patterns which is skilful.

In 1907 when I spent some happy days in Clones with Helena and her husband, she had been married over a year and was no doubt looking to an activity that would take the usual forms when motherhood partners the duties and the desires of a wife and a home maker. She had become a member of the London Library ; she was no doubt working at those early books more in the domain of imaginative writing and in which, as in verse, she might have done great things had she not turned her back on it. She did that surely to fulfil other demands, almost challenges to her faith and to a fealty which implied an eagerness to serve. She seems to me to have fulfilled the functions of the bards of ages past as I understand them—I am here rather a fish out of water. She became, if you like, a " Master," the chronicler of those saints and martyrs, heroes and heroines of cloister and hearth whose lives and whose fortunes together with the fortunes of their institutions are so closely interwoven with the history of our country. How arduous her labours were in that particular historical field only those who know the claims of scholarship can realise. Her prize winning and epoch making *Life of St. Columban* which nobly opened this great series of her writings will be her most enduring monument. It was the first English Life of the Saint ; its bibliography in five languages occupies five and a half pages of close print ; its disposition of material and its clarity of style make it pleasant reading even for the uninitiated amongst whom I number myself. The bibliography gave me a thrill, containing as it does the name of Dr. " Batt " McCarthy, co-editor of *The Annals of Ulster*, and author of a contribution to the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* of December, 1884, on the *Death of St. Columban.* " Dr. Batt " was a curate in Macroom in the 80's of the last century ; his " holidays " were mostly spent in the Bodleian ; his parishioners loved and revered him not more for his scholarship than for his sympathy with the evicted tenants and their Plan of Campaign in those years. He was, I remember well, the possessor—the only one in town or countryside—of a typewriter to finger the keys of which he used to lift me—no bigger then than one of my granddaughters now—on his knees. I can see—as if it were yesterday—his stalwart figure and comely pleasant face.

I have said that the demands made on Helena Concannon were a challenge. I would not be misunderstood as if I implied any undue pressure from without. The urge from without corresponded to an inner urge which bade her come to the help of her time so sorely needing that help. It was in that sense that after 1916 she wrote for the women of the movement the *Women of Ninety Eight* and *The Daughters of Banba,* the latter a Tailteann Medal Award in 1924. In that year I stayed with her in Lios-na-Mara. I had lost my husband and she pressed me to come to her for change of scene. I did so and learnt then, what I would otherwise not have known, that she was, in those years after the First World War, consistently relieving the needs of priests and people in Germany and Austria with gifts in money and in kind. It was with her introduction I went in the September of that year to study in a Working Girls' Hostel in Vienna the methods of the *Caritas Socialis* whose foundress, Dr. Hildegard Burjan, was one of the instruments of Helena's benefactions. I brought away with me from Lios-na-Mara as a parting gift an historical novel of the famous Austrian Catholic writer, Baroness Enrica Handel-Mazetti, whose counterpart in Anglo-Irish literature I often thought Helena might have become had she but had the leisure in the years that were to follow. But the occasions pressed ; in 1929 with *The Poor Clares in Ireland* for the tercentenary in that year ; in 1931 with *Saint Patrick* for the Fifteenth Centenary of the coming of the National Apostle ; and again in 1932 with *The Blessed Eucharist in Irish History* for the Eucharistic Congress in the same year.

In 1933, Helena Concannon was to take over a fresh field—that of political life in Dáil and Seanad. She yielded to pressure this time only after the personal intervention of Mr. de Valera who, from the year 1918, had her entire allegiance as she had his esteem and regard. It was he who nominated her to the Senate of the National University in 1934, and who re-nominated her at all subsequent periods. He could not easily have found a person—man or woman—that would do more credit to a cause. She did not speak often, but when she did she was worth listening to, and Mr. Cosgrave with others, expressed the opinion that they heard her all too seldom. She briefed herself on all questions in which she could speak to any purpose, and she was invariably courteous, pleasant and kindly in debate. From one who did not at all agree with her alignment I heard that she was well liked in the House and that there was no trace in her of the asperities which so often poison public life. Like all mystics, she had a practical commonsense and brought it to bear on issues in which she might have been thought to take no interest. She was a countrywoman, and both her early upbringing as well as many of her tastes, and the experience which her husband, as a National Health Insurance Inspector brought her, should have made her views of practical value in Dáil or Seanad. Some women thought she had no

interest in the progress of her sex. That was not the case ; however she may have voted, her contribution to the Constitution debates in the Dáil in 1937 was real and valuable. My reading of that speech in the Senate Reports made me think that, on the question of Equal Pay for Equal Work, for instance, she would hardly have let the matter go by default.

I have nearly done and yet perhaps I have said too little and too much to give any clear picture of this great woman who, immured as she was for long periods in her study, was yet not unmindful of the common day and its doings. Sharing to the full the joys and sorrows of her kindred, she yet held out a helpful hand to the needy on all occasions. Having small use for extravagances or luxuries, she was prudent and provident, and so could always exercise hospitality in a home whose doors were ever open to her friends and those of her husband. They were hers too. Utterly natural and simple, she was, as a school friend put it, straight as the barrel of a gun. That is, in a twisted world, a difficult virtue. But Helena Concannon had the Grace of God. May she rest in His Peace.

Mary M. Macken.

Reviews

RUSSIAN BACKGROUND

RUSSIA ABSENT AND PRESENT. By Wladimir Weidlé. Translated by A. Gordon Smith. London : Hollis and Carter. 1952. 15s.

ELEVEN YEARS IN SOVIET PRISON CAMPS. By Elinor Lipper. London : Hollis and Carter. 1952. 18s.

WRITINGS FROM THE PHILOKALIA ON PRAYER OF THE HEART. Translated by E. Kadloubovsky and G. E. H. Palmer. London : Faber and Faber. 1951. 30s.

A TREASURY OF RUSSIAN SPIRITUALITY. Compiled and edited by G. P. Fedotow. London : Sheed and Ward. 1952. Cheap Edition. 10s. 6d.

UNSEEN WARFARE. Being the Spiritual Combat and Path to Paradise of Lorenzo Scupoli as edited by Nicodemus of the Holy Mountain and revised by Theophan the Recluse. Translated by E. Kadloubovsky and G. E. H. Palmer. London : Faber and Faber. 1952. 25s.

THE opening chapters of Gogol's *Dead Souls* were read to Pushkin when he was dying. " God, what a sad country our Russia is " ! he exclaimed. One's first reaction on reading the two books heading the above list is to echo Pushkin's cry. The Catholic in one is grieved by the terrible schism soon to celebrate its ninth centenary ; the European by the tragically missed opportunities to unite the best in East and West ; the human being by the appalling mass of suffering that millions of one's fellow-beings are bearing and have borne. The great mysterious plain of Russian cultural history so admirably described by Professor Weidlé seems steeped in a mist that is the inner counterpart of the fogs of her melancholy steppes : Christianity seems degraded to a mummified and exotic state-controlled liturgy : and, in the pages of Elinor Lipper's prison diaries, *homo occidentalis mechanicus neobarbarus* appears to have reached the nadir of barbarity. Yet, such a judgment, for all the truth that it would contain, would be false and dangerously unfair. It must be corrected by what Professor Weidlé calls on his last page the " most clear-sighted judgment the true Russia has ever inspired " :—" The Russian people has little light but plenty of warmth." That remark of Philarete the Metropolitan finds abundant illustration in all the books under review. Love, kindliness, good-nature, amiability—all the human qualities that " warmth " can denote—are indeed characteristics of the genuine Russian people. That great people has —after the manner of human nature no less on the Shannon than on the Dnieper—the faults that generally accompany those virtues. Because of these easily-seen faults, or rather much more because of the exploitation of them by a possessed minority, a Western European's verdict on Russia can be as wrong as it is dangerous. And only too easily do we of the West forget that the rationalist obscurantism of the Russian communist is of Western origin. For the forming of a valid judgment Professor Weidlé's survey of Russian history will be of great value.

In the quarrel that has raged for over a century between " Slavophils " and " Westernisers "—approximately the Gaelic Leaguers and the West Britons of the Russian scene—Professor Weidlé takes up a central position. An emigré professor of the History of Art, he has done much since his coming to Paris in 1924 to interpret Russia to the West. He refuses to regard his country as an " Eurasia "—a world, that is, apart from both Europe and Asia but with a predominantly Asiatic culture—and he insists that Russian culture, for all its vast differences, is an integral part of our common European patrimony. The strangeness to us of much in Russian culture he suggests is largely illusory and the fault of our non-assimilation of the great nineteenth-century writers he lays at the door of our indolence and ignorance of Russian. He shows that Russian culture developed in Europe ; and he claims that if we refer to it as Eastern then we should mean East-European and not Asiatic, even though it be European in a way that is hard for the fully Western mind to conceive. For, though we be both the heirs of Greece, yet that common heritage has passed through the hands respectively of Byzantium and Rome—nor can the contributions of the Tartar invasions be neglected.

However anxious one may be to accept Professor Weidlé's full thesis, it is hard to avoid feeling that he tends to understress some of the dividing factors ; and deeply spiritual though his approach be, a Catholic must regret that he fails to appraise fully Russia's first and greatest tragedy, the rending of the seamless robe of Christ by the great schism and the consequent failure of the official church to sustain its people in their hour of darkest need. Yet for what we may call the schisms within the schism he is sharp-eyed. Again and again he makes the point that Russia's most grievous illness was the cleft between the *élite* and the masses, between the " nation " and the people, between the official church and the people. A popular culture there was, a " horizontal " culture, western in its roots ; but in all Russia's history there never sprang from it a high culture which, in its turn, would develop and then descend to enrich the lives of the masses. The soulless reforms of Peter the Great, with their import of first-class technology and third-rate art, merely magnified a cleft that had existed ever since the Varangians, Scandinavian warrior-merchants, had created the Russian state. It was a cleft that religion had failed to bridge. The great mass of the people had a deep and self-sacrificing religious sense, as the books of Messrs. Fedotov and Kadloubovsky show. But again it had warmth rather than light ; it had St. Francises by the dozen, but never a Bonaventure or a Thomas, a Bellarmine or a Canisius. An Orthodox Canisius defies imagination ! and if, later, Soloviev was to be called the Russian Newman, he also followed Newman's way.

To the middle years of the last century Professor Weidlé attributes the insertion of a wedge that would finally widen out the cleft into the great chasm of to-day. It was the birth of the intelligentsia, an educated class whose one bond was opposition to all that might be described as " official " Russia. From their desertion the anaemic state never recovered, while the people viewed both intelligentsia and state with equal mistrust ; the " populist " movement never became popular. Both Government *élite* and intelligentsia were to exhaust themselves in a war of attrition and in the early years of

this century a *sub-élite* of half-baked intellectuals arose who with their inheritance of Nihilism and *fin-de-siècle* Marxism were choice material for the Revolution. For them Professor Weidlé has the only bitter pages in his essay. His contempt is understandable. On and through these demi-intellectuals Lenin worked in his demoralization of the peasantry and the soldiers. He solved the problem of peasantry and nation in his own drastic way ; he destroyed the nation, only to restore it in his and his successor's own good—or bad—time to an absolutism of power undreamed of by a Peter or an Ivan. Custine's oft-quoted description needs revision. The Russian system of government is no longer " absolute monarchy tempered by assassination." For assassination under the Soviets has become the monopoly of the State.

The inside-story of that assassin-state is told by Elinor Lipper out of her grim eleven-year experience in Russian camps and gaols. Should such horror-books be written people sometimes ask. The answer is a thousand times Yes. One of the reasons which—or should we say "who"?—is ever with us is the demi-intellectual who has a cult for Russian liberty—at a safe distance or on a conducted tour. One example : on an American Soviet Asia mission which " visited " the Dalstroi camp was an observer, one Dr. Owen Lattimore. The comment of the learned doctor on the savage camp-commandant and his still more brutal " wife " was : " they have a trained and sensitive interest in art and music and also a deep sense of civic responsibility." (*National Geographic Magazine,* Dec. 1944). " What " asks Miss Lipper " would Dr. Lattimore think of a man who, having visited Dachau and Auschwitz, afterwards reported only that the SS. commandant of the camp had " a sensitive interest in art and music " ? Like Weidlé's, Miss Lipper's only bitterness is towards such " intellectuals " who, in Russia and outside it, add their spit to the Soviet sea of cruelty. Perhaps her charity strains a little too at the Orthodox church dignitaries, who, having had a taste of the camps, thanked God for sending them Stalin " the genius of the twentieth century, the benefactor and liberator of the Soviet people." But how consoling it is to have this German Jewess's tribute to the ordinary Russian Christian : " All the lesser people who were rotting in the forced labour camps on account of their religion continued to cling to their views . . . they were the hardiest and most stoical people in camp."

In a brilliant and moving final chapter Professor Weidlé sees the Russian problem as one that is primarily spiritual. But he is less optimistic than Miss Lipper. " Religious life is not extinct, but ignorance of religion, imposed by the state on the whole younger generation, is such that if Russia is ever again to become a Christian country, it will only be as the result of a new conversion."

How vast has been Russia's loss is shown in *Writings from the Philokalia* and in *A Treasury of Russian Spirituality.* While they differ in their selection of detail, Weidlé and Fedotov paint the same broad picture of Russian spirituality. Moral obligation, action through duty, are not in that picture. " Russia has listened so well to the Sermon on the Mount that she has come to make little of the Ten Commandments." We of the West, if we are to understand

Russia, must begin by getting some appreciation of her distrust of a morality that resembles law and by admitting that our Catholic morality is ever dogged by the danger of degenerating into a system of lifeless prohibitions. Here already there was a potential source of schism even if Cerularius, bent on being the Pope's equal, had never launched his attack on the unleavened bread. All that is juridical in the church must have grated on the Russian mentality. And yet the amazing charity and humility of the people might well have overcome those real obstacles had good-will only been found in high places. Amazing is almost too mild a word for Russia's national virtue of humility ; the Western is tempted to label it psychopathic.

Professor Fedotov's opening selection is from the Life of Saint Theodosius (1074) Abbot of the Kievan Caves Cloister, who, rejecting all outward marks of authority, preached that " kenotic " humility which came in time to stamp the whole of the Russian people. The " kenosis," the humiliation of God in the Incarnation and in the Passion (not in the Protestant heretical sense), became the chief subject of meditation of a people who already had by nature a mysterious—and not always healthy—affinity with it. " Self-assertion to the Russian " says Weidlé " assertion of personal rights and still more the will to power is either wholly strange or else something he encounters in devious ways, shunning the light of day." The " fool for Christ " is quite a definite type in Russian sanctity ; the *yourodivi* especially of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries had a seemingly inexhaustible thirst for humiliation and persecution. One cannot help wondering if they were known to the saint of the following century who gave the same ideal to the Order he founded, adding however in marked contradistinction to the Russian practice : " *nulla tamen ad id per eos data occasione.*" The Russian result was at the one end a Theodosius, a Sergius, a Nilus of Sorsk—and, at the other, a Tolstoi. In him humility grew wild and ran to sorry seed for the want of the other great Christian virtue, charity. In this he was lower than the peasants to whom he stooped. For a Russian will act from charity when duty leaves him cold—even when duty means his own self-interest. This resentment of the claims of duty is obviously a serious defect. Yet charity's cloak is not niggardly fashioned ; and, for all of us, there is something about casting the first stone.

Anyhow this warm union of charity and humility will strike every reader of these anthologies. And he will find it illustrated from life by Miss Lipper. The old nun sitting in the Siberian cattle-truck and murmuring : " Now I've suffered nearly as much as Jesus Christ ; now I will certainly be redeemed soon " is but one of " kenotic " thousands in the story of those eleven dreadful years. The young Nadya, calmly accepting five years Siberian martyrdom rather than work on Church holidays is another. Those who know something of Dostoievski and read him—a rare phenomenon in this Digest Age—will already have met this kenotic humility in his novels, especially in *The Brothers Karamazov*.. For many, the approach to some understanding of the Russian mind—surely no optional subject for the educated Catholic of to-day—might well begin with Dostoievski's novels. They may be the first step to the realisation that the Russian heart has reasons of which the Western reason knows nothing. Fathers Friedrich Muckermann, S.J., and Romano Guardini have

written noteworthy studies on his work. These are still, unfortunately, not available in English ; but a translation of Guardini's book has been published in Paris by *Les Editions du Seuil.*

Writings from the Philokalia and *A Treasury of Russian Spirituality* are anthologies that supplement one another chronologically. Professor Fedotov's selection covers the eleventh to the twentieth centuries and is drawn from nine chief sources, four of them being after 1800. Each section has a short and useful introduction. But the great merit of the collection is that it puts the reader in direct contact with Russian spiritual thought. Its five hundred edifying if, at times, startling pages—all for half-a-guinea—make a notable Sheed and Ward contribution to the cause of church unity. A Catholic would like to see added to its useful bibliography the names of Congar, Boyer, Dvornik and Iswolsky. Before discussing the *Philokalia* it is well to recall that neither book gives a full idea of Orthodox spiritual life. There is little or no mention of the mysterious and beautiful liturgy nor of the veneration of ikons and devotion to the saints ; and the stress on simplicity and kenoticism must not lead one to forget that " the hellenism of Golgotha crowned that of the Acropolis."

The importance of the publication of this book of selections from the *Philokalia* may be judged from the fact that there seems to have been only one complete set of the 1877 Russian edition in the whole of Germany and Austria ; and the one example of the 1793 edition in the British Museum was destroyed during the war. The *Philokalia* (Love of the Beautiful, the Good) is a large collection of the spiritual writings of Greek-speaking Fathers who lived between the fourth and the fourteenth centuries. It was first edited on Mount Athos in 1782 by Macarius of Corinth and Nicodemus of the Holy Mountain. (The latter also edited, or pirated, Scupoli's *Spiritual Combat* and, of all books, *The Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius in Pinamonti's edition. One would love to know how that Italo-Spanish piece of furniture fitted in the kellion on Mount Athos !) There have been translations of the *Philokalia* into church Slavonic and into Russian, both having a wide influence. It is from the Russian adaptation by Theophan the Recluse that the present English selection has been translated, as has *Unseen Warfare* from his revision of Nicodemus's revision of Scupoli.

The whole *Philokalia* is a kind of hesychastic anthology for the spread of the knowledge and use of the " Jesus Prayer " or " Prayer of the Heart." Hesychasm (*hesychia*, quiet or silence) is a contemplative movement or tradition within the Orthodox Church, tracing itself mainly from St. Simeon the New Theologian (1022) who summed up much of the Sinaitic tradition and by his opposing of the contemplative to the juridical spirit probably played quite a part in furthering the great schism. The favourite hesychastic practice is the repetition of the Jesus Prayer—either the Holy Name alone or a formula containing it, the main formula being " Lord Jesus Christ, son of God, have mercy upon me a sinner." With it went, though not necessarily, certain physiological techniques—physical immobility, control of breathing, fixing of the eyes on the navel or the heart—all culminating in feeling of inner warmth and experience of a " divine light." " The Fathers say that a man desirous of practising wise sobriety should descend into the heart by way of breathing,

and constantly compel himself to pray undistractedly, listening only to the words of the prayer and going deep into them until the mind becomes illumined in the heart." (*Philokalia.* Directions to Hesychasts. 95). The extracts made by Professor Fedotov from the "*Way of a Pilgrim*" show the Jesus Prayer in practice. This fascinating book of uncertain origin is really a propaganda pamphlet for the prayer. It also—unintentionally—shows its dangers.

It would be easy, beginning with the physiological details of Nicephorus the Solitary, to make a selection from the *Philokalia* which could pass successfully as a Yogi manual. It would also be most unfair ; for there is a constant insistence on genuine abnegation. And, after all, the supposed champion of discursive prayer attended to details of posture and breathing in his *Spiritual Exercises.* Rather than make carping criticisms, let it be for us a source of delight to find amongst our Orthodox brothers a devotion to the Holy Name that recalls that of St. Ignatius and St. Bernard and many another in the West. Perhaps even we may find in the *Philokalia's* tenderness for the Name matter for quite an uncomfortable examination of our modern Western conscience. And all that could in any way further reunion should be dear to us. Disunion came as much from bad will as from dogmatic differences ; the path to reunion is the path of charitable interpretation wherever possible. *In essentiis unitas, in dubiis libertas, in omnibus caritas.* Rightly understood, the Prayer of the Heart could be a powerful aid to living a life of continuous prayer as well as a great bond of union. But for Catholic and Orthodox alike, direction in its use is essential since the hesychastic path may run perilously close to the cliff of quietism. And the reader of the *Way of a Pilgrim* needs no less warning against literal and mathematical imitation of its 12,000 aspirations a day than does the reader of the Life of Father William Doyle. In this year of grace 1953, it is a long long way from Mount Athos to O'Connell Street—and much much further to Piccadilly—and the *Philokalia,* if it is to become again the life-force it once was, will need not transplanting but very skilful and careful grafting. Perhaps some easternising Roman would do for it what the latinising Nicodemus did for Scupoli's *Spiritual Combat,* though laws of copyright may render such irenic piracy less feasible to-day ! Old friends of Scupoli will find him hard to recognise in his Russian robes, and the rich patches of contemplative silk stand strangely out on his native ascetical frieze. But if these unwonted garments recall to the reader's mind, and above all, to the reader's prayers, another robe—the Seamless Robe of Christ with its fearful rent of 135 million souls—then Nicodemus in his harmless literary piracy will indeed have been a Good Thief.

DONAL O'SULLIVAN

MODERN SCIENCE AND GOD

MODERN SCIENCE AND GOD. By P. J. McLaughlin, D.Sc. Dublin : Clonmore and Reynolds. 1952. Pp. 89. 6s.

THE Pontifical Academy of Science, reconstituted in 1936 by Pope Pius XI, is the legitimate successor of the Academia dei Lincei, which was founded in 1603. This venerable body is thus many years senior to the Royal Society

of London, the Academie des Sciences of Paris or any other academy of science. There are, when all the seats are occupied, seventy Academicians, distinguished authorities in various branches of science, belonging to many nations and creeds. The present Pope, Pius XII, on 22nd November 1951 at the opening ceremony of the academic year, delivered to the Academy a discourse on " The Proofs of the Existence of God in the Light of Modern Natural Science." The Discourse, published by the Academy in 1952 in five versions—Italian, French, English, German and Spanish—was distributed widely to scientific institutions over the world. It has aroused very great interest among scientists of many religions, or of no religion—a Harvard professor, one of the foremost scientists of to-day, has made it compulsory reading for his students.

The remarkable interest that has been shown in this address is due to a number of factors. The survey of the achievements of modern science is authoritative and very clear ; it is indeed a masterly summary. The bearing of these results on the traditional proofs of the existence of God is discussed in an equally lucid style in language that can be understood without difficulty by a scientist or by any educated person. Had it been presented in the style of a philosophical treatise, it would not have reached the audience for which it was intended. Special training is needed to understand philosophical methods and terminology. Most scientists could hardly find the time, even if they had the inclination, for such a study. Finally, the fact that a statement of this nature has been made by the Head of the Catholic Church has contributed greatly to stir up interest in the most diverse circles.

"True science discovers God in an ever-increasing degree—as though God were waiting behind every new door opened by science." This phrase from one of the opening paragraphs may be taken as the key-note of the Discourse. After referring to the methods of philosophy and science, the Holy Father discusses in detail the bearing of modern scientific discoveries on two, in particular, of St. Thomas Aquinas' proofs for the existence of God—the first and fifth " Ways " based on the mutability of things and on the order in the universe respectively. Among the findings of modern science that are examined and assessed are the changes in the universe, both on the large scale, as in geological processes, and on the most minute scale in the atom, and in the nucleus of the atom ; the beginning, evolution, and probable end of the universe ; the various ways of estimating the age of the earth and of the universe.

The Discourse will be read and studied with the greatest interest, not only by scientists, but by educated people, whether Catholics or not. Never before has such a statement been made by a Pope. It is undoubtedly an epoch-making document and should be distributed as widely as possible. Dr. McLaughlin has rendered a great service to students and to the general public by his edition of the Discourse, entitled *Modern Science and God.* He has made a very clear and readable English version of the text. His introduction and copious notes and explanations are authoritative and written in a lively and attractive style. They contribute materially to the elucidation and understanding of the text. Owing to the circumstances of its composition—an address to an Academy—the matter of the Discourse is naturally

presented in a condensed form. Dr. McLaughlin's commentary will be found very helpful.

The book is very well produced, in a convenient pocket-size format. It is to be hoped that it will have the widest possible circulation in all English-speaking countries.

D. J. K. O'Connell

SCIENCE IS A SACRED COW. By Anthony Standen. London : Sheed and Ward. 1952. 10s. 6d. net.

Mr. Standen's book is of the *Tadpoles and God* type, a reaction from the inside (this time) against the pretensions of some men of science to form a body-surrogate replacing the Christian Church. He himself is a chemist who has applied his knowledge to the control of insect pests, and has written a book on insect invaders. He is an Oxford man who has been exposed to the American laboratory mind at close quarters. His book is, then, a de-bunking book. It is logically arranged, beginning with the modern adulation of the scientist, going on to explain the part played by teachers of science in promoting this adulation, taking up the several classes of scientific subject-matter in what he considers the order of decreasing scientific worth, and ending with a warning against the body corporate of scientists as a guide to thought or action.

This work is intended as polemical ammunition. Some will receive it with wild acclamation, others with equally wild denunciation. It covers the ground of Dr. Thompson's *Science and Commonsense*, but in more detail and in a different vein. Most of the points have already been scored more elegantly by Chesterton—notably his criticism of the lie-testing machine. Mr. Standen's worth in this field is that he is himself a practising scientist, well-trained in one field of pure science and versed in its application to human problems. For this very reason his opinions must be read with critical caution by those who have not had his experience. It would be wise to follow a reading of this book by a reading *in extenso* of the present Pope's allocution to the First International Congress on Neurological Histo-pathology (*e.g.*, in the *Catholic Medical Quarterly*, VI. 1, Oct. 1952).

The best parts of the book are those that deal with the physical sciences and with the attempts to found sociological sciences. The penultimate chapter is a touching piece of Platonism—it would be unfair of me to criticize it, for I do not regard Plato as the master of them that know. The chapter on biology is very misleading indeed. The author holds that the essence of biological law is the just application of analogy—but so, as it happens, is all other scientific law. Mr. Standen should study the nature and meaning of one-to-one correspondences of structure in metrical as in non-metrical fields of knowledge.

To sum up : *Science is a Sacred Cow* can be classed as medicinal. Like other medicines it can be poisonous if administered to the wrong persons. The extrapolation of Mr. Standen's argument along his own lines would lead dangerously near to a denial of the function of reason in temporal and spiritual affairs. He himself seems to have been aware of this, although he might have been more explicit about it when dealing with the justification of our desire to know because knowledge is good in itself. It is noteworthy that the

bulk of his quotations are from books written and published in America, where the vulgarization of science has reached the depth of vulgarity. It is not quite fair to leave the untutored reader with the notion that all scientists are essentially pagan or even only agnostic. The author has the misfortune to live in a country where this is unhappily largely true ; and where, moreover, many of the best-known Catholic scientific names are those of converts, who carry over their epistemology into their new life. Mr. Standen's book deserves a wide circulation in Britain, an even wider circulation in America ; and it should be banned for general circulation in Ireland except amongst those who possess some first-hand knowledge of a science coupled with a sense of proportion. By science I do not mean mathematics, *pace* our author—and several others. To those who know, it is noteworthy that the products of Ollscoil na h-Éireann who are most likely to remain orthodox in religion when exposed to infidelity are the thoroughly trained scientists. We may except the theologians, who have had the same rigid training in the use of reason.

M. A. MACCONAILL

PER VERBUM AD PERSONAM

BIOLOGY AND LANGUAGE. The Tarner Lectures 1949-50. By J. H. Woodger. Cambridge University Press. 1952. 40s.

I PROPOSE to risk my rag of reputation by asserting that there are two polar types of philosophic mind—the Socratic, which knows all the questions ; and the Platonic, which knows all the answers. I have liked the Socratic more. Hence I have followed the writings of Dr. J. H. Woodger with a special interest since I purchased his *Biological Principles* in 1929. He struck me then as an honest man and a non-aggressive despiser of the fashion of the time. I had come to London to pursue certain studies begun in that best of breeding-grounds, an extra-metropolitan university. Within a month it was clear enough that much scientific journalism sprang from the desire of the pundits to take each other down. The quarrel of the moderns (I found) was at least equal in venom to the Contention of the Bards.

They are dead now, most of them, and have doubtless made it up over a glass or two of nectar. But Dr. Woodger is Professor of Biology at the Middlesex Hospital Medical School, and he still keeps writing on. His latest book might well be described as a questioning by affirmations. It is a timely book, and is also a book of the time. Its author has become more and more aware of what the mediaevals knew : that Grammar must precede Logic, and Logic must precede Rhetoric—the architectonics of constructive argument. His Tarner Lectures were given in 1949-50, a year after Dr. F. M. R. Walshe had delivered the remarkable Harveian Oration before the London Royal College of Physicians, in which he affirmed explicitly what is implicit in Professor Woodger's thinking. Woodger, like so many of us, has wished to see something in biology comparable to that corpus of principles and deduction which goes by the name of Mathematical Physics. He knows the difficulty and he knows the danger of a premature *Summa Biologica.* He has maintained that the approach must be by the road begun by the first professor of mathematics at Cork, the road of relational logic, a continuation of the road so well laid and metalled

by the mediaeval followers of Aristotle. His book is devoted ostensibly to the technique of making careful assertions in biology. It is actually more, for in it he has laid bare his philosophic soul. That soul informs the body of his work. We must, therefore, look at it first.

This soul is ghostly in that it is hard to grasp. He is not, he declares, a phenomenalist. For him the external world is a hypothesis, but an unescapable hypothesis. He admits that the senses convey something about an external world to the senser. He stresses the valid distinction between the conceptual and the imaginative levels of our thinking. Yet he claims to be a Nominalist and, therefore, " in the tradition of the English empiricists from Hobbes downwards." (*Ou est la très sage Helloïs, pour qui fut chastré et puis moyne Pierre Esbaillart à Saint-Denis ?*). It is noteworthy, by the way, how many English savants are claiming to be good empiricists, even though they fight one another as heartily as ever did Kirk and King. In logic, Dr. Woodger will have no truck with classes—Lord Russell gets it hard here ; and he has no better opinion of our universals than that they are merely " shared words." He holds that we can know the colour of a horse but not the horse of that colour. Yet he proclaims that Knowing is our traffic with that colour and Doing our traffic with the horse. This is the anglican mind, the thing that Dryden first defended and then fled. It will be condemned sympathetically by those who have not only learned but also love philosophy. It will be damned by those who have merely learned.

The fact is that Dr. Woodger has tried to do too much in a small compass. He arranged his lectures in three groups ; any one of them would have made a study comparable with (say) Sir Edmund Whittaker's Tarner Lectures. His first sector deals with general methodology : " methodology " is the horrid word that stands for a mixture of grammar and logic. He then goes on to a specific technical problem, an application of methodology to genetics. Finally he discusses methodological problems in neurology and related sciences. The last section will be of most interest to the general reader ; after this we may put the first section, which is of considerable intrinsic interest for any university man whatsoever ; the middle part is purely of interest to a special set of biologists. This tripartite division is not, in fact, clear-cut. There are parts in the middle that could have been included in the first or third. It is, therefore, gratifying to find a good table of contents at the head of the book, and a good index at the tail.

My philosophical gospel is not that of Dr. Woodger, but I think his book well worth buying. Convinced as I am that the " Boole-Frege Movement," as he calls it, represents an important and useful addition to our apparatus of analysis and exposition, it is, I believe, a good thing to have a text that shows the way in which a language may unwittingly become a philosophy, a means become an end. In his first part the author shows, sometimes a little tediously, how a proper precision in science does not always need what is called mathematics, but nevertheless needs a definite calculus. Here and there he makes it quite clear that he does not look upon the *Principia Mathematica* as the ultimate canon of logistic. He is explicit in his recognition of the difference between the arbitrary axioms that form the basis of a mathematical system and the experiential axioms that must form the basis of a theoretical

natural science. Having dabbled myself in this sort of thing, I find it interesting to note how those who have to codify the witness given by the outer world do tend to agree upon the method of it, even though we may disagree profoundly upon interpretation. We agree because scientific communication is an improvable art. We disagree because two different gospels may be preached in one and the same tongue. This last point needs emphasis over here.

We need not dwell upon the middle section, although it is that upon which the author lays most stress, taking indeed a high view of it. It is in the third part that the man breaks through the mentor. Living as he does at the centre of English materialism, he is at pains to declare himself not of it. Here it is that his attention to the choice of words in discourse allies him with " us " rather than with " them " ; just as Russell's tussle with himself about the universals has a similar apologetic value for upholders of moderate realism. Dr. Woodger is annoyed with those who confuse neurology with psychology. He pleads for a return to a pre-Cartesian language—he calls it " pre-dualistic " ; and he plumps for *person*. No Irishman could stress the difference between *duine* and *ainmhí* more vigorously than he does, purely on the basis of positivism. He refuses to explain the man in terms of the monkey. He holds that persons are intrinsically worthy of respect ; and his remarks upon the need for training our medical students in both the forms and the spirit of courtesy towards the sick are refreshing indeed. The concluding part of his talks is an expansion of the dictum *Scientia sine caritate inflat.* So strong is he about this that he has felt it necessary to defend himself upon it in an appendix. This is a really moving part of the book, for in it he pays a tribute to his friend, the late Dr. Suttie, whose word and teaching he commends with a gentle glow of sincere love.

This is a good book of its kind, say other critics what they may. Its one fault, when understood, can be discounted—or allowed for—by the reader ; this fault is the confusion of logic with linguistic. This fault, in turn, is the besetting sin of one group of the Polish school of logicians—there is another, not referred to in London. Dr. Woodger's work is a symptom of the present velleity towards a return to the Christian view of men that his predecessors and so many of his contemporaries thought they should abandon. It is, perhaps, no more than a velleity. But it cannot be converted into a will unless more of our own folk learn to talk in the language of the day. It was in Ireland that the new language for biologists first took shape. *Ní beag sin.*

M. A. MACCONAILL

INTRODUCTION TO THE BIBLE

GUIDE TO THE BIBLE. An Introduction to the study of Holy Scripture. Published under the direction of A. Robert and A. Tricot. English translation prepared under the direction of Edward P. Arbez and Martin R. P. McGuire. Tournai : Society of St. John the Evangelist. Desclée et Cie. 1951. Vol. I. pp. xxvii + 530. No price marked.

IN recent years a new type of theological text-book has appeared on the continent, the content of which is generally described as " Introduction to the Bible." One of the most appreciated and widely used of these books is that

bearing the title *Initiation Biblique* edited by Mm. Robert and Tricot. This now appears in an English translation bearing the title *Guide to the Bible*. This work will be of value not only to clerical students but also to those responsible for the religious knowledge courses in our schools and to that ever increasing section of the laity who are anxious to acquire a better knowledge of the Bible and to understand the answers which Catholic Bibical scholars now make to the questions which spontaneously arise in the minds of those who read the scriptures with attention and interest.

Guide to the Bible is the fruit of collaboration on the part of most of the prominent French biblical scholars of the present day. The longest and perhaps most important section of this volume is that which gives an account of the nature and content of each of the 72 books of the Bible (pp. 93–256). These accounts are necessarily brief but are very carefully composed and are clearly the fruit of the authors' thorough acquaintance with each book and prolonged personal reflection on the problems which arise. Text-books so often succumb to the temptation of repeating conventionally and impersonally what has been said and written a hundred times ; here we have a text-book which is original and at the came time thoroughly sound.

In this volume are contained other chapters on Inspiration, the Canon of the Scriptures, the literary *genres* used by the inspired writers, the transmission of the text and other similar topics. The publishers have wisely included in the table of contents a list of the subjects to be treated in the second volume, thus saving their readers from the temptation of believing that the whole field has been covered and that nothing remains for Vol. II.

The translation has been made from the second French edition which appeared in 1948, but the translators have made considerable additions to the bibliography and the notes. These additions are always clearly indicated by the use of square brackets and add greatly to the value of the book. In the first place they include most of the useful matter which has been published in English, whereas the French original relied very largely on French sources. Again, even in the short period which elapsed between 1948 and 1951, biblical scholarship made progress and the editors clearly wished to make the English edition as complete as possible as from the date of publication.

The translation itself is quite adequate, although a mischievous reader could pick out some phrases which are not quite happy. For example we read of the " admirable teaching " of the prophets Amos (p. 162), Jonas (p. 164), and Malachias (p. 169) ; the " magnificent teaching " of the Book of Daniel (p. 157) and the " magnificent ideas " of the Book of Job (p. 174). However such lapses will be easily condoned by anyone who has ever tried to translate from the French and has come to appreciate the difficulty of a task which at first sight might appear quite simple. Misprints are not numerous and most of those which have escaped the vigilance of the correctors do not obscure the sense. This is really a remarkable achievement in the case of a book in English which has been printed and published abroad.

In the editors' foreword we find the following remark (p. xiv) : " Some will perhaps be surprised to find so many pages without notes. We ask such readers to put aside their misgivings and to have full confidence in the scholarship of our collaborators. Scholarly documentation underlies each contribution."

The editors are undoubtedly correct in their contention that a work can be scholarly even though some of its pages are unencumbered with footnotes, but what is really important is to realize that quite often a single sentence in the text summarizes and passes judgment on a controversy which has been carried on for many years in countless books and periodicals and concerning which the opinions of catholic authors are still divided. This can create difficulties for a reader not familiar with the revelant literature and who, in consequence, may not realize the full significance of the author's few well-chosen words. Indeed it is almost terrifying to contemplate the vast amount of positive information and theoretical enquiry which underlies the 1,000 pages of this book. One cannot but have sympathy for the modern clerical student who, in addition to everything else, must be acquainted with this ever accumulating new material.

Guide to the Bible, being a theological manual, does not always manage to avoid the failings which are sometimes to be found in this type of work. In the first place some of the more interesting but difficult points are either insufficiently treated or completely omitted. For example, there is an extremely interesting chapter on the literary *genres* of the various books of the Bible. In particular the pages dealing with the books of Kings and the Gospel of St. John are really brilliantly executed ; but there is no discussion whatever of the literary *genre* or *genres* used by the author of the Book of Genesis. This is a great pity. M. Robert has clearly given much thought to the matter and his remarks on Genesis would have been read with the greatest interest. Doubtless he had good reason for not embarking upon the discussion of so difficult a question in an elementary manual, but the work is certainly the poorer for the omission.

On the other hand the desire to give a complete survey of the topic assigned to them seems to have led some of the contributors a little outside the field of their own studies. For example we read on p. 399 " At present the universities of Cambridge and Göttingen are sponsoring the preparation of two new editions (of the Septuagint) which will rest, apparently, on a less extensive foundation than the edition of Holmes Parsons, but which will give greater attention to the ancient manuscripts, as well as to patristic citations and will put more emphasis on the classification of manuscripts into different families." This statement is rather misleading and not quite in keeping with the rigorous accuracy which we have learnt to expect from the great scholar who contributed this section. As a matter of fact, the larger Cambridge Septuagint does not attempt to give patristic quotations and does not group the manuscripts into families. No one will deny that the Cambridge Septuagint is a most valuable instrument of research, but its method is quite different from that followed at Göttingen.

However the few points we have made should not lead English-speaking Catholics to underestimate the service which has been performed by the editors and publishers of this volume. There is now available in English a really good manual of introduction to the Bible, and we look forward eagerly to the appearance of the second volume.

PATRICK SIMPSON

HUGH OF ST. VICTOR. On the Sacraments of the Christian Faith (*De Sacramentis*) : English Version by Roy J. Deferrari. The Mediaeval Academy of America. Cambridge, Massachusetts. 1951.

Hugh of St. Victor (1096–1141) is one of the chief figures and most influential theologians of the first part of the twelfth century. It is the early age of scholasticism, the period of Abelard (1079–1142), of Peter Lombard (c. 1100–1160), and, outside the scholastic circle, of St. Bernard (1090–1153). St. Anselm, the real founder of scholasticism (c. 1034–1109), wrote monographs full of profound thought on the principal doctrinal questions, but did not compose a *Summa* of the whole of theology. The following period gives us the first attempts at such a synthesis, the *Sententiæ* of Anselm of Laon before 1117, the *Introductio ad Theologiam* of Abelard, the *Libri Sententiarum* of Peter Lombard and the *De Sacramentis Christianae Fidei* of Hugh of St. Victor. " Sacrament " is used here in the wide sense of the things signified in scripture or the mysteries of the faith ; the work is a theological synthesis or *summa*. Following an order, at once historical and theoretical, he treats in Book One of the creation of the world, of God, the Trinity, the angels, the creation and fall of man, the restoration of man, the institution of the sacraments (in the stricter sense of " means of sanctification "), faith, the natural law, the written law. Book Two, divided into eighteen parts, treats of the Incarnation, and " the fulfillment of God's grace from the sacraments of the New Testament to the end and consummation of all."

The translator's first difficulty was that no reliable Latin text of the work was available. He induced Brother Buttimer, F.S.C., who had already done work on the manuscript tradition of Hugh's works, to prepare a critical text, and on this text the translation is based. Unfortunately, financial considerations made it impossible to publish this text as yet ; the present volume contains only the English version.

The translator, professor of Greek and Latin in the Catholic University of America, has done his work excellently. His version is a pleasure to read. Hugh's style was simple, forceful, logical and clear, and these qualities are certainly evident in the translation. It is to be hoped that the necessary financial support for the publication of the critical text of the original will soon become available.

Paul O'Dea

PRACTICAL PROBLEMS OF ADOPTION

ADOPTION : THE PARENT, THE CHILD, THE HOME. By The Reverend Cecil J. Barrett, C.C. Dublin : Clonmore and Reynolds. pp. 92. 6s.

Since the Legal Adoption Act has come into operation, the need on the part of those immediately concerned is the study of the practical considerations which influence the making of satisfactory adoptions. This book should therefore be of much assistance to those who must give thought to the problems raised, whether they are people about to adopt a child or those who take part in the preliminary arrangements. This is not, it must be emphasised, a book

about Legal Adoption. It is primarily a guide for those who arrange adoptions, for those dealing with unmarried mothers and for adopting parents, written with the aim of giving a clearer insight into what adoption means to the child and to his adoptive parents alike. It is part of its usefulness that it is written by a priest who has extensive experience of arranging what American social workers call " child placements," and who is sensitive to the multitude of psychological and social factors which must be taken into account in every individual adoption. The book is written in simple language for the general reader. It is a summary of practical advice rather than a formal statement of theories ; yet none of the essential principles which should be the basis of thinking about adoption work are left undiscussed.

It is of interest to Catholic professional social workers to recognize how largely the ideas set out in this book, written from a purely Catholic viewpoint, accord with those accepted as fundamental by experts in the adoption field outside this country. There seems to be a substantial measure of agreement, for example, between Father Barrett and the author of a recent English book, *Child Adoption in the Modern World*, Miss Margaret Kornitzer. For instance, there is agreement that the welfare of the child should be a paramount consideration, that the object should be to provide emotional security for the child. Similarly, both writers plead for well-planned, unhurried arrangements, made by a recognized agency functioning through trained workers. Father Barrett points to the care and prudence necessary and stresses that the arranging of adoptions—*de facto* as well as legalized—should not be undertaken by any private individual. To those who have no experience of the pitfalls, the placing of a baby may seem a comparatively simple matter. They may be anxious to help an unmarried mother or to get an interest for a childless couple, but their uninformed, if well-intentioned activities, may leave the mother in a state of mental, even spiritual, disorder, or result in the child being placed in an unhappy or unsuitable environment.

On the first page of this book there is a sentence which sums up the author's ideas about the aims and difficulties of adoptions and the reasons why great preliminary care is required. " Children have a natural and fundamental right to family life : and in certain circumstances adoption secures this right, for adoption is the admission of a stranger to the rights and privileges of a family." To fit a strange child in to any family, to enable him to become throughout the rest of his life an integral part of that family, requires wisdom on the part of those who help to plan the adoption and insight and patience on the part of the adopting parents. This is one of the reasons why placements should nearly always be made as early as possible in the child's life, so that his contacts and affections are disturbed as little as possible. The most suitable age is discussed, among other things, in Chapter III, where the emphasis is on the psychological background and on the psychological reasoning which should underlie planned adoptions. In this chapter, which deals in detail with factors of heredity and environment, of physical and mental health, Father Barrett has had the assistance of the specialised knowledge of Reverend Dr. O'Doherty, Professor of Logic and Psychology in University College, Dublin. Giving the child a sense of security through loving care in his early life is shown to be the most important single factor in determining his future

mental health. This needs to be maintained throughout childhood and, what appears to a social worker to be more difficult and very important, at adolescence. Father Barrett (in another chapter) devotes two pages to advocating that the adopting parents should tell the child themselves that he is adopted and that this should be done at an early age, so that he may grow up with this knowledge, and in the consciousness that as an adopted child he has a sure place in the parents' affections.

Apart from discussions of the arrangements necessary for the child, consideration is given to the difficulties of the unmarried mother and to the social worker's relationship with her. There is a detailed description of methods of interviewing, a plea for a kindly and charitable approach and a statement of the obligations of secrecy. This part of the book is marked by a deep understanding of the state of mind of the mother and of the help she requires. Father Barrett points out that material rehabilitation is not in itself sufficient, that the Catholic social worker is concerned with the moral problems of the unmarried mother as well as with her social and economic needs. The decisions to be made regarding the future of the child, whether mother and child can be kept together, the possibility of getting financial assistance from the putative father, the interviewing of the father by the social worker, the various facilities available, the question of the mother confiding in her own family, and other considerations are discussed with commonsense and feeling.

The fourth and last chapter of this book is devoted to the adoptive parents and the home, and the responsibilities of those who make child placements, irrespective of any legal requirements. This is so useful in its general discussion of the various aspects that it might perhaps be issued separately as a pamphlet for their guidance. There are sections relating to the decision to adopt, making the application, how the agency makes a study of the home, and, when it is finally decided that the couple are suitable adoptors, how the question of the type of child to be offered to them is considered. One point made by Father Barrett is that the adopting parents' means are not considered of first importance. A reasonable standard of living, with the adopted child sharing good and bad fortune as it comes, is all that is hoped for, provided that the necessary family solidarity exists.

ALMA BROOKE TYRRELL

WITHOUT ROOTS

THE NEED FOR ROOTS. By Simone Weil. London : Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd. 1952. Pp. xv, 288. 18s.

WITHIN the past few years the name of Simone Weil has become very familiar to a small section of the English-reading public. She was a remarkable person, who died at the early age of thirty-four, and yet had spiritual views and, it may well be, spiritual experiences quite out of the common. Her opinions were given with conviction and occasionally with vehemence, and there was in them at times an oddly compelling spiritual power. A woman of wide sympathies and deeply human feelings, she had an insight into the modern outlook and into modern problems that was both penetrating and constructive.

During the war years she was commissioned by the Free French authorities in London to prepare a detailed report on the possibilities of French revival after the struggle. To this congenial task she applied herself with great earnestness. The result was a work, published in France as *L'enracinement*, that now appears, in an English version and with a foreword by Mr. T. S. Eliot, as *The Need for Roots.*

Part of the book remains, as must be expected, of mere transitional importance, for it records the ideas of a French *émigrée* in the mid-war years. Some of these ideas were wishful thinking : others arose from the enchantment that distance lends to the view : yet others have been made obsolete by post-war developments in France.

But it is surprising how so much of what she has written *is* relevant, not only with regard to France, but generally to other Western countries.

She has three main themes. The first, that we must substitute for the declaration of the " Rights of Man " another declaration, this time of the " *Duties* of man towards his fellowmen." Here she has put her finger upon the centre of our social and industrial *malaise :* that insistence all the time on Rights, Rights, Rights, to the practical exclusion of any feeling of responsibility, to owners, employers and the general public. This false and excessive stress upon Rights, Rights, Rights is undermining the social fabric of the West and incidentally is making a mockery of sound social teaching.

The second and third themes are applied directly to France. France, she insists, must be *rèenracinèe,* must find its true roots, must be re-established upon a sound traditional basis.

The theme of *enracinement* (" Uprootedness " is not a happy translation) is not new, but it is propounded by Simone Weil with great urgency :

> To be rooted is perhaps the most important and least recognized need of the human soul. It is one of the hardest to define. A human being has roots by virtue of his real, active and natural participation in the life of a community which preserves in living shape certain particular treasures of the past and certain particular expectations of the future. This participation is a natural one, in the sense that it is automatically brought about by place, conditions of birth, profession and social surroundings. Every human being needs to have multiple roots. It is necessary for him to draw wellnigh the whole of his moral, intellectual and spiritual life by way of the environment of which he forms a natural part. (p. 41).

France, prior to 1939, had become appallingly *déracinée* and money and education had been the principal factors in this process of disintegration.

From her earlier contact with revolutionaries Simone Weil had been converted to an appreciation of the past. " The future "—she argues against those nihilists and visionaries—" brings us nothing, gives us nothing ; it is *we* who in order to build it *have to give it everything, our very life.*" The past, she declares, " once destroyed never returns. The destruction of the past is perhaps the greatest of all crimes. To-day the preservation of what little of it remains ought to become almost an obsession." " Loss of the past, whether it be collectively or individually, is the *supreme* human tragedy, and we have thrown ours away just like a child picking off the petals of a rose." (p. 114).

Her analysis of France's history is at times acute, at times curiously ignorant : the whole is a jumble, lit now and then with a flash of genius or great warmth. She completely misunderstands, for instance, Roman civilization, and belittles it, as she does the traditions of her own people, the Jews. " The barbarian heritage became mingled with the Christian spirit to form that unique, inimitable, perfectly homogeneous product known as chivalry. But between the spirit of Rome and that of Christ there has never been any fusion." (p. 136).

Interpretation is often arbitrary. French thought, she suggested, has been more enriched by the Albigensians and troubadours of the twelfth century who were not Frenchmen, " than by the entire output from this part of France in the course of succeeding centuries."

On the notions of patriotism, and nation and State, she has some paragraphs of deep understanding. To her, the modern State is a cold concern, incapable of being loved ; yet modern man is compelled to love it, for *there is nothing else*. " That " she adds " is the moral torment to which all of us to-day are exposed." The French State has eaten into the moral substance of France. The French State has demanded of Frenchmen more than it has a right to ask, more than Frenchmen should have given or could afford to give. " Thus we have witnessed this strange spectacle—a State, the object of hatred, repugnance, derision, disdain and fear, which, under the name of *patrie*, demanded absolute loyalty, total self-abnegation, the supreme sacrifice, and obtained them." This is what happened, according to Simone Weil, between 1914 and 1918. For her, the centre of the French crisis was that Frenchmen in those years had given *too much* to France, more than they had in them to give.

The crisis was, therefore, one of attitude towards France itself. For the men of the Right, the break betwen morals and politics had discredited both politics and patriotism. The middle generation of the Right could no longer feel that France really was their country ; the working classes created too much noise and disturbance for that. On the Left there was a double current. Some men were devoted to justice ; such men are frequently internationalists in times of peace, but their country's defeat called forth from them a pure flame of patriotism. Others were being indoctrinated in a new allegiance, the cult of a working class imperialism, with its centre in Russia.

> The U.S.S.R., outside Russia, is really the spiritual home of the working class, *their country*. In order to realize this, all one had to do was to watch the French workmen's eyes as they gathered round the newspaper stalls and scanned the headlines announcing the first big Russian reverses. It was not the thought of the repercussions these defeats might have on Franco-German relations which filled their eyes with despair, for British reverses never affected them in this way. They felt they were being threatened with the loss of more than France. (p. 146).

Simone Weil's analysis of the French situation is of significance for all countries in the West, for all show, though not in the same startling degree, similar symptoms. Of the suggestions for *enracinement* which she puts forward, some are admirable, others of temporary character, some—it would appear—

quite unpractical. But throughout there is an emphasis upon *duties* rather than *rights*, on *truth* and *justice*, on the need for a new inspiration, on the saving grace and the spiritual vocation of *work*. Herself not a Christian and, though profoundly appreciative of many Christian truths remaining obstinately aloof from the Catholic Church, she can nevertheless see problems from a deeply Catholic viewpoint and approach them in a profoundly Catholic way. That is, I think, her secret. With all her shortcomings and a certain want of balance, she is a *deep* personality. You will not discover in her writings the obvious trite remarks and the facile glib solutions.

She was youthful and ardent, intense and vivid in her convictions. At times, she is one-sided and not sufficiently critical, either of herself or her ideas. But she has for all that a genuine understanding of suffering, and in the final resort she would re-establish true patriotism upon the quality of *compassion*. It was, she urged, the special quality of St. Joan of Arc. "This poignantly tender feeling for some beautiful, precious, fragile and perishable object has a warmth about it which the sentiment of national grandeur altogether lacks." Only such a love as this, in her judgment, can bear the Christian mark of *humility*. And this compassion will cross frontiers and extend itself to all countries in misfortune. This notion of patriotism through compassion gives to the poorest part of any population a privileged moral position. The country could be presented to them as imperfect—yes—but as very frail and liable to suffer misfortune and which it is necessary to cherish and preserve. The poor know the reality of misfortune. Could they be given this attitude to their own country, they would regard their troubles, not as sufferings inflicted by that country upon them but as evils suffered by the country in and through themselves.

JOHN MURRAY

GLIMPSES OF CATHOLIC ENGLAND

VAUX OF HARROWDEN: A RECUSANT FAMILY. By Godfrey Anstruther, O.P. Introduction by Wyndham Lewis. Newport, Mon.: R. H. Johns. 1953. 25s.

FATHER CARAMAN has recently given us an admirable new translation of the autobiography of Father John Gerard, S.J., which ends with that adventurous priest's departure from England soon after the crisis of Gunpowder Plot. Here is yet another tale of English recusancy, in which the interest once more is centred round the Plot. For Father Anstruther holds that there was in fact an ill-conceived plot, which was known in advance to the Government and carefully watched and nurtured by them. The family of Lord Vaux, though it did not include any of the conspirators, was most intimately united with some of the Catholic nobility who were involved in the Plot; and with none more intimately than with Francis Tresham of Rushton Hall. Harrowden and Rushton lie close to one another in Northamptonshire; and one of the most interesting results yielded by Father Anstruther's careful and detailed research-work over a wide range of state and family papers, is to show on the one hand how many of the Catholic families in this midland county were involved in the consequences of the Plot, and on the other how weak was the

hold of the Old Faith on the great majority of the county's inhabitants. More than three hundred years later Cardinal Manning was to jest grimly about the newly-erected diocese of Northampton (which included seven counties) as " the Dead See." The failure of Catholicism in this typically English area is here revealed by a careful analysis of the evidence ; and against this general failure there stands out all the more vividly an astonishingly gallant resistance put up under Elizabeth and James I by a small group of recusant families, with Francis Tresham and Elizabeth Vaux as the two most gallant figures in the group.

We get glimpses here of the Vaux family as it makes a first unlucky start towards wealth in the early fifteenth century—only to be overwhelmed by the disaster that came to all supporters of the Lancastrian cause after Bosworth field. Then yet another turn of fortune's wheel, and Nicholas, first Lord Vaux, becomes one of the wealthiest men in England and a favourite at the court of Henry VII and Henry VIII. His spectacular array on the Field of the Cloth of Gold marks the highest point in the family's fortunes ; for the sudden change in Henry VIII's religious policy threw this old-fashioned and sturdily loyal family into opposition. Thomas Lord Vaux is a minor poet of the early Tudor age, who has won unexpected immortality as the author of a ballad which is parodied by one of the grave-diggers in the fifth Act of *Hamlet*. Thomas died in 1556, and it was left to his son William to take a firm stand as an unflinching recusant for most of Elizabeth's reign. The Jesuit priests, Campion and Southwell, both found refuge at Harrowden during these stirring years, and William Lord Vaux spent some years in the Tower as a confessor for the Faith. William died in 1595. Ten years later his daughter-in-law, Elizabeth Vaux, was the heroine of a famous search which lasted for some ten days at Harrowden, with Father Gerard lying safe in his hiding-place for all that time. Father Garnet, the Jesuit provincial, found refuge at Coughton Hall in Warwickshire ; but was discovered, arrested, tried for complicity in the Plot, and finally executed.

Such in brief outline is the story of this book, in which Father Anstruther has had the courage to print all his documentary evidence in full. The result may be at times bewildering to a reader who has not been trained to follow each clue in such detail ; but again and again the story is so compelling in its human quality that our attention is held to the end. There is moreover a practical lesson which should not be forgotten. After all the commotion of the Plot, in which none of the family had lost their lives, the Vaux title died out in the second half of the seventeenth century ; and Harrowden was also lost to the Vaux family. One by one the few surviving recusants in Northamptonshire were squeezed out or won over, until the county as a whole became one of the least Catholic counties in all England. Father Anstruther points out with great truth that the loss of even a few great Catholic houses, like Harrowden or Rushton, could be the cause of a total loss in faith, since priests could no longer count on the safe harbourage that had always been theirs in the days of Francis Tresham and Elizabeth Vaux.

AUBREY GWYNN

AMPLEFORTH AND ITS ORIGINS. Essays on a Living Tradition by Members of the Ampleforth Community. Edited by Abbot Justin McCann and Dom Columba Cary-Elwes. London : Burns Oates and Washbourne. 1952. pp. xiv and 306. 22s. 6d.

LAST Easter Ampleforth College, Yorkshire, celebrated the 150th anniversary of its foundation. A century and a half is not a great age as English public schools go, and Ampleforth can scarcely yet be said to have a history. The college is remarkable rather for the rapidity with which it has risen to prominence among English Catholic schools and among English public schools generally. At the turn of the century there were not more than 100 boys in the school ; to-day there are over 600. Considering its relatively remote geographical position on the edge of the York Moors, over 20 miles from the nearest large town, and far from any large Catholic centre, these figures bear testimony to the quality of the education Ampleforth provides. The events which brought about this sudden development are too recent to be recorded, or so the editors of the volume of commemorative essays must have thought when they commissioned the present Headmaster, Dom Paul Nevill, to write on modern Ampleforth.

If Ampleforth the school is of yesterday, Ampleforth the monastery traces its decent to pre-Norman Westminster. After the final dissolution of the monasteries in the reign of Elizabeth I, a member of the Westminster community survived to admit some English Benedictines of the Cassinese Congregation into his community. These settled in the monastery of St. Laurence, Dieulouard, in the diocese of Nancy. Dieulouard remained the home of the Westminster survival until the French Revolution, when the monks returned to England, and, some years after their arrival, settled at Ampleforth in 1802.

The monks of Westminster devoted themselves primarily to the performance of the liturgical ceremonies ; teaching formed an inconsiderable part of their activities, though some of the monks spent several years at Oxford. During the Dieulouard period the monks were engaged in missionary work in England, " to show," as they said, " that all those were heretics and apostates who had deserted the religion in which the Benedictines had made the English Christians." To this period belongs that delightful character, Blessed Alban Roe, who, we read, " was remarkable cheerful and facetious even in the midst of his sufferings." Though missionary work is still one of the principle activities of the Ampleforth community, education has come to assume a place of prime importance in the life of the monastery. It is interesting to note that originally only candidates to the priesthood were to be admitted into the school, and, though this policy was never rigidly adhered to, as late as 1874 more than half the boys (42 out of 80) were seminarists.

Ampleforth, therefore, for all its house-system, Cadet force, beagles, rugger, golf and the other appurtenances of public school life, is primarly a monastic school. This the editors are careful to point out. " It would be to miss the point of a modern monastic school such as Ampleforth, for instance, to see it merely as a public school. It is primarily a Catholic and monastic school . . . in the sense that the boys are trained by monks, brought up in the principles of obedience and simplicity, humility and the love of God and men, the

foundations of a true Christian life. If ever the monastic spirit left a monastic school, then that school would cease to fulfil its function."

A little more about the function of a modern monastic school would have been welcome. The English Benedictines and Ampleforth in particular have made an important contribution to modern Catholic Education. In many ways a monastery is the ideal site for a school. In an age of uncertainty and unrest monastic life, with its regular performance, in their full splendour, of the liturgical ceremonies, forms a tranquil and stabilising background to a boy's life during his most impressionable years ; it gives him a spiritual home to which in later years he can return in memory or, as so many do, in person. The unity and stability of the monks ensure for the college a permanent staff of teachers and house masters who have time to grow rich in experience at their tasks ; this is often denied to other Orders which have to provide for the needs of more than one college. Though not peculiarly monastic, perhaps, the so called " honour system " by which boys are given a large measure of freedom and responsibility, has been adopted at Ampleforth with remarkable success ; the situation of the college obviously lends itself to this.

The editors, however, wished to maintain an historical perspective and alotted Ampleforth no more than the two chapters that were its due (thus making " Origins " the operative word in the title). With one exception—an essay of considerable importance by Mr. W. A. Pattin on Medieval Westminster—all the essays are by members of the Ampleforth community. The collection is distinguished by a high standard of historical scholarship, and a continuity of narrative and uniformity of style (if the somewhat arid style of a chronicle). Though much new matter has been brought to light in these essays, one feels that more could have been said about the methods employed in the dissolution of the monasteries ; while, on the wider question of the relations between Church and State during the Post-Reformation period, Abbot Justin McCann, admirable scholar that he undoubtedly is, has done less than justice to what was beyond question the policy (enlightened or otherwise) of the Holy See in the closing decades of the 16th century. But for all that, this is a worthy tribute to that tradition which has been maintained for over a thousand years in spite of upheavals, political and religious, and is now once again making its contribution to the Catholic life of England.

CYRIL BARRETT

A STANDARD FLORA

FLORA OF THE BRITISH ISLES. By A. R. Clapham, T. G. Tutin and E. F. Warburg. Cambridge : at the University Press. 1952. Pp. liv + 1591. 50s.

ONE hesitates to use such a sadly overworked word as " landmark " ; and yet after due consideration it seems the fitting one to signalize the happy occasion of the appearance of this Flora. For very many years British and Irish botanists have had to make do with a small selection of Floras which, however adequate originally as presentations of the existing state of knowledge of the flora, had become pitifully and progressively inadequate. New needs had arisen and a vast expansion of knowledge had followed the rise of the

modern science of ecology and the application of the methods and data of cytology and genetics to the problems of the plants in the field. In little more than three years the authors have collated and sifted this immense wealth of material, marshalling it in a masterly fashion. As a result the descriptions, for the most part freshly written, though exhaustive have a ring of precision and clarity that is very heartening to the non-specialist for whom the work is primarily intended. Very ample keys are provided and in addition points of special diagnostic value in many genera are illustrated with neat line-drawings by Miss S. J. Roles. Thus the excellent series of the fruits of the *Carices* will encourage many to come to grips once more with this difficult genus.

In this, the centenary year of Mendel's return from the University of Vienna to resume his teaching career in Brno, one turns with extra interest to the treatment of the *Hieracia* which were to baffle him completely. Unknown to him this genus—like an equally baffling section of the *Rubi*—reproduces apomictically, that is produces seed without the normal sexual fusion which tends to level out variation. Individual variations are thus preserved and transmitted all but indefinitely and we are presented with an almost unintelligible riot of variant forms. The Hieracian specialist has listed 260 " species "; more, we are told, could be added. It is hardly exaggerating to say that hitherto the student or general botanist could make nothing of this welter. But the authors have grouped the main species into sections, presumably indicative of recent divergence, and illustrated each section with a very clear figure of a typical species. The proof of this undoubtedly will be in the using ; but the presentation is so promising that many will be aroused from the traditional defeatist attitude of all but the very bravest towards this genus. If only the *Rubi* had lent themselves to neat illustration also !

The botanist approaching, or past, middle age will be shocked at the number of new specific and even generic names to be assimilated. Like Tansley one regrets that the authors had so little consideration for the *positio possidentis*. However now that the Ecological Society's Check List has been " canonised " by a work that can hardly escape becoming standard, the only sensible course is to conform lest confusion be aggravated and unnecessarily prolonged. One regrets also in such an authoritative work the use of the term " *vegetative reproduction* " ? Would not "*propagation* " be the happier term, reserving *reproduction* for the production of specialized single cells which develop after sexual fusion (gametes) or asexually, without fusion (spores). Such a misuse is mild, however, compared with the startling use by such authorities as Sinnott, Dunn and Dobzhansky of " asexual reproduction " to cover bulbs, buds, tubers and runners. How can spores and bulbs be included under the one term ?

Our few regrets are so relatively minor that even to mention them in a brief review seems to exaggerate their importance. The authors are to be congratulated heartily and very sincerely thanked. Even if, as they modestly suggest, errors may be found in it, it is obvious that in re-prints and if necessary re-editions it will stand the test of many years. The price, for a book of its size, scope and production is not excessive. When one considers that it is likely to be an investment for a lifetime it is remarkable value.

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